

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS  
Series D - No. 63

# THE CHINESE OF PASURUAN: THEIR LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY

by

Dédé Oetomo

(MATERIALS IN LANGUAGES OF INDONESIA, No. 26)  
W.A.L. Stokhof, Series Editor



Department of Linguistics  
Research School of Pacific Studies  
THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS is issued through the Linguistic Circle of Canberra and consists of four series:

SERIES A - Occasional Papers  
SERIES B - Monographs

SERIES C - Books  
SERIES D - Special Publications

**EDITOR:** S.A. Wurm

**ASSOCIATE EDITORS:** D.C. Laycock, C.L. Voorhoeve, D.T. Tryon, T.E. Dutton

**EDITORIAL ADVISERS:**

B.W. Bender  
University of Hawaii  
David Bradley  
La Trobe University  
Michael G. Clyne  
Monash University  
S.H. Elbert  
University of Hawaii  
K.J. Franklin  
Summer Institute of Linguistics  
W.W. Glover  
Summer Institute of Linguistics  
G.W. Grace  
University of Hawaii  
M.A.K. Halliday  
University of Sydney  
E. Haugen  
Harvard University  
A. Healey  
Summer Institute of Linguistics  
L.A. Hercus  
Australian National University  
John Lynch  
University of Papua New Guinea  
K.A. McElhanon  
Summer Institute of Linguistics

H.P. McKaughan  
University of Hawaii  
P. Mühlhäusler  
Linacre College, Oxford  
G.N. O'Grady  
University of Victoria, B.C.  
A.K. Pawley  
University of Auckland  
K.L. Pike  
Summer Institute of Linguistics  
E.C. Polomé  
University of Texas  
Malcolm Ross  
Australian National University  
Gillian Sankoff  
University of Pennsylvania  
W.A.L. Stokhof  
University of Leiden  
B.K. Tsou  
City Polytechnic of Hong Kong  
E.M. Uhlenbeck  
University of Leiden  
J.W.M. Verhaar  
Divine Word Institute, Madang

All correspondence concerning PACIFIC LINGUISTICS, including orders and subscriptions, should be addressed to:

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS  
Department of Linguistics  
Research School of Pacific Studies  
The Australian National University  
Canberra, A.C.T. 2601  
Australia

Copyright © The Authors

First Published 1987

Typeset by Sue Tys

Printed by A.N.U. Printing Service

The editors are indebted to the Australian National University for assistance in the production of this series

This publication was made possible by an initial grant from the Hunter Douglas Fund.

ISSN 0078-7566

ISBN 0 85883 349 2

Maps drawn by Theo Baumann

Bound by Adriatic Bookbinders Pty Ltd

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION	1
Notes to Chapter 1	11
Chapter 2: PASURUAN AND THE CHINESE OF PASURUAN	13
Notes to Chapter 2	62
Chapter 3: GENERAL LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND	67
Notes to Chapter 3	93
Chapter 4: IDENTITY MARKERS: JAVANESE AND MALAY/INDONESIAN	96
Notes to Chapter 4	158
Chapter 5: IDENTITY MARKERS: CHINESE DIALECTS, DUTCH AND ENGLISH	161
Notes to Chapter 5	200
Chapter 6: CONCLUSION	203
Appendix: SAMPLE TEXTS	209
Conversation 1: In a dentist's waiting room	209
Conversation 2: Two engineering students	211
Conversation 3: A younger brother's family comes to visit	214
Conversation 4: Getting merchandise for the store	217
Conversation 5: At the hairdresser's	223
Conversation 6: A family chat on a Sunday afternoon	228
Conversation 7: At a death wake	236
Conversation 8: The death of acquaintances	242
Conversation 9: At a camera store	247
Conversation 10: Talking about jobs	252
BIBLIOGRAPHY	258
INDEX	286
MAPS	
Map 2.1: Historical map of Java and Madura	14
Map 2.2: East Java Province	18
Map 2.3: Town of Pasuruan	19
Map 3.1: Dialect map of East Java	68

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to my Special Committee, Professors Linda Waugh, John Wolff, Benedict Anderson and John McCoy, for guiding me through the research and writing of the thesis on which this work is based.

I would also like to thank the Department of Modern Languages and Linguistics at Cornell University for my teaching fellowship (1978-1982), and the Graduate School for the Sage Graduate Fellowship (1980-1981). My thanks go to the Ford Foundation for my travel grant, and to the Social Science Research Council for the grant from the International Doctoral Research Fellowship Program for Southeast Asia of the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies with funds provided by the Ford Foundation and the National Endowment for the Humanities. I would also like to thank the Cornell Southeast Asia Program for supplementing the S.S.R.C. write-up support for 1983-1984, and for providing office space.

Special thanks go to all my informants in Pasuruan, and to friends and colleagues at Cornell for their moral support. Jim Collins helped to smooth out my language for the publication of this work; I thank him for his invaluable help. Similarly, my sincere thanks to Wim Stokhof, Lois Carrington for her fine editing and indexing, and Richard C.Y. Lee for his beautiful calligraphy.

And finally, a very warm thankyou to Papi, Mami, Mak, Oom Hok Liong, Tante Hoen and Ruddy, for their constant support from far away.



## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 AIM AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

This study has as its aim the sociolinguistic description of a Chinese minority community in the town of Pasuruan, East Java. More particularly, in this study I will attempt to look into the interrelation between language behaviour and language attitudes on the one hand and ethnic and class identity on the other. I will look into the situation of the Chinese as an entity and of the variations within the entity. In this way, I hope to discuss the variations in the community by looking into variations in language use and attitudes. Furthermore, I will attempt to examine changes that have been and are taking place in the community, mostly as a result of the position of the Chinese as a minority group under pressure to assimilate into the majority group, namely indigenous Indonesians. I will also look into the directions which future developments might take.

The scope of the study is limited to those people who identify themselves and/or are identified by others as Chinese in Pasuruan.<sup>1</sup> Since in many ways Chinese see themselves as different and separate from other inhabitants of Pasuruan, and are also seen in that way by the latter, I will assume that they form a community in the sense that they can be seen as a distinct group of people, if only demographically speaking and not in a real sense. I do not claim that the results of the study apply to other Chinese communities in Java or, more generally, in Indonesia. However, one should keep in mind that the Chinese of Pasuruan are sociopolitically a part of the ethnic Chinese of Indonesia. This study is thus a case study, in which I will examine how the social, cultural and political situation in which the Chinese of Pasuruan find themselves affects the interplay between language use and attitudes on the one hand and ethnic and class identity on the other.

I would now like to define the terms I will use throughout the present work. A *Chinese* is anyone who identifies him/herself as Chinese and/or is identified as Chinese by other people, Chinese and non-Chinese alike.<sup>2</sup> Although the name *Pasuruan* is used to refer to the town and the regency of which it is the capital, in this study I will confine myself to discussing the situation of the Chinese community in the town. *Language* as a general term comprises language behaviour or language use and language attitudes. *Language behaviour* is limited to verbal behaviour; I will not discuss kinesics and proxemics in any depth here. *Language behaviour* and *language use* will be used interchangeably to mean the ways in which people use language and the purposes for which they use it. *Language attitudes* is used to mean the opinions that people have concerning a certain language, as well as the way in which they behave on the basis of those opinions. *Ethnic identity* refers to one's identity as a member of an ethnic group, namely a group of people who feel they are part of a certain group A rather than B and are willing to be identified as such, based on physical, sociocultural and sociolinguistic criteria. Wherever relevant and necessary, the term *subethnic identity* will be used to refer to one's identity as a member of a sociocultural subgroup within an ethnic community. *Class identity* in general refers to one's socioeconomic

status. However, the term does not only refer to one's present status but also to one's family's status in the past which may be reflected in language behaviour and attitudes.<sup>3</sup> Other less general terms will be defined when they are discussed for the first time in the body of the work.

## 1.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

### 1.2.1 Studying the Chinese of Indonesia: a cultural approach

Although numerous studies have been conducted on the Chinese of Indonesia,<sup>4</sup> not many of them examine their cultural life. The majority of the studies place a strong emphasis on the political, economic and social aspects of the Chinese.<sup>5</sup> One would admit that it is highly important to study the Chinese of Indonesia by approaching those aspects, since after all the Chinese community as it is now has been the result of various political, economic and social policies of the different powers that have ruled Indonesia in the past 400 years or so. However, as Coppel (1977a) argues, the lack of a cultural dimension to the study of the Chinese of Indonesia "has distorted our perceptions and understanding of the political dimension to which so much attention has been given" (p.22). Elsewhere (Coppel 1977b), he argues that there are

dangers in looking at the Chinese minority in isolation.  
It may well be that we have exaggerated the extent to which  
Dutch colonial policies succeeded in keeping Chinese and  
indigenous Indonesians separate. (pp.181-182)

In this study I will use a theoretical framework which acknowledges the importance of the political, economic and social dimensions of the Chinese of Indonesia as people who can be categorised as a commercial bourgeoisie, but which also recognises the importance of a cultural dimension.

Major studies that place a strong emphasis on the cultural aspect of the Chinese of Indonesia include Moerman 1929, which describes the day-to-day life of educated Peranakan<sup>6</sup> Chinese in West Java; Willmott 1960, which is confined to a limited area, namely the town of Semarang in Central Java, and besides discussing Chinese commercial activities also looks into religious life on a thorough manner; Nio 1961, which is a study of the cultural tradition of Indonesian Chinese; Nio 1962, which is the first major work on Sino-Malay literature; Ryan 1961, which discusses the value system in a Chinese community in East Java; Tan 1963, which describes a Chinese community in a limited area, namely the town of Sukabumi, West Java; Go 1966, which describes social life in a West Javanese village where Peranakan Chinese were assimilated to the extent that physically and culturally they were hard to differentiate from their indigenous neighbours; Suryadinata 1971, which discusses the Peranakan Chinese press; Suryadinata 1972, which is an excellent survey of education among the Chinese of Indonesia; Salmon and Lombard 1974, which discusses Malay translations of Chinese novels; Lombard-Salmon 1974, which explores the origins of Sino-Malay literature in the last quarter of the 19th century; Kwee 1977, which discusses literary works in Malay written by the Chinese; Salmon and Lombard 1980, which describes Chinese temples in Jakarta and the communal life surrounding them; Salmon 1981, which is the most thorough study to date of Sino-Malay literature; and van Reenen 1981, which is a rather brief study of the Chinese of Jakarta.

I see this study as continuing the tradition of Willmott, Ryan, Tan and Go of 20 years ago. The difference lies in the fact that I will include linguistic information and use it as a starting point. In the past 20 years, many changes

have taken place following the emergence of the New Order. As we shall see later, the Chinese policies of this regime are different from those of the preceding regime, under which the Chinese communities studied in the very few<sup>7</sup> 1960s studies lived. It is hoped that this study will be a useful contribution to the understanding of the Chinese of Indonesia in the 1980s.

Moreover, although many works on the Chinese of Indonesia use linguistic criteria in defining the different subgroups in the community,<sup>8</sup> not many linguistically based studies have been carried out dealing with the language of Chinese communities in Indonesia. The few exceptions that we have at our disposal include Coppel 1973, which is an attempt to map the Peranakan Chinese of Indonesia based on data on the use of (one) daily language from the 1920 Census; Weldon 1973, which is a discussion of Indonesian (i.e. indigenous) and Chinese status differences using inter alia self-reported language-use data; the grammar of Batavia Malay by Lie Kim Hok (1884, discussed in Tio 1958 and Lombard 1972); Nio 1932 and 1939, which briefly describe the language of communications of the Chinese and different varieties of Malay (including that used by Chinese) respectively; Pane 1935, which discusses the question of the written Malay used in Chinese publications vis-à-vis the emerging Indonesian language; the chapter on the language used in Sino-Malay literature in Nio 1962; the serialised articles by Pramoedya (1963b, 1963c, 1963-64) and the relevant sections in Salmon and Lombard 1974 on the language used in Sino-Malay literature; and Salmon 1980, which argues against calling the language used in Sino-Malay literature "Chinese Malay", and suggests a more general variety of Malay used by Chinese and non-Chinese alike.

However, the studies just mentioned are mainly concerned with written language, or when discussing spoken language are either rather sketchy, or confined to information concerning what language is used by which informant (cf. Coppel 1973, Weldon 1973). In other words, for a long time there was no study based on transcriptions of recorded spoken texts. The first major linguistic study<sup>9</sup> was Rafferty 1978, which looks into the function of pragmatic information in relation to semantic and syntactic elements of discourse in what she terms "Chinese Indonesian", namely the variety of Malay/Indonesian containing Javanese loanwords, used by Chinese in East Java. Her work is thus confined to only one variety in the linguistic repertoire of East Java's Chinese. The Chinese community itself is only briefly discussed as a prelude to the mostly linguistic analysis of the particular variety. Dreyfuss and Oka (1979) attempt to define what variety of Malay/Indonesian their "Chinese Indonesian" is. This work is again more a linguistic work than a work on a Chinese community as such. Their "Chinese Indonesian" is coterminous with the variety in Rafferty's study, what I would define as informal neutral East Java Malay (see Section 4.3.2). Kartomihardjo 1981, which is an ethnographic study of the use of Javanese and Indonesian in East Java, mentions usages by Peranakan Chinese, but leaves out Totok Chinese.<sup>10</sup> Wolff (1982, 1983) discusses the development of what he terms the "Indonesian dialect" of the Peranakan Chinese in East Java. In fact, he uses part of the same data used by Rafferty. Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo (1982), in a study of the use of Javanese and Indonesian in Central Java, devote a chapter to the language of Peranakan Chinese, which they define as a variety of Javanese. In this work they clearly state that Totok Chinese are left out. Finally, I should mention the study on the historical development of the languages used by the Chinese of Java, by Rafferty (1984).

Given the abovementioned studies, I hope here to do two things: first to come up with a thoroughly researched community study to update the studies by Willmott and Ryan (Tan's and Go's being concerned with a community in Sundanese-speaking West Java and a rural community respectively). I will utilise socio-linguistic data, concentrating on the question of identity, which, given the

fact that since 1950 as a minority the Chinese are under pressure to assimilate into the majority, must be seen as very important. Second, in line with and continuing the previous linguistic studies mentioned above, I hope to discuss an entire community, i.e. without leaving out the Totok, and to look into the entire linguistic repertoire of the community. Also, I will include the dimension of class identity and how it interrelates with language use and attitudes. I see this as a very important dimension that has been left out of the previous linguistic studies.

### 1.2.2 Language and identity

This study is based on the theoretical framework generally known as the ethnography of communication (Hymes 1962, 1964, 1974; Bauman and Sherzer 1974; Gumperz and Hymes 1964, 1972). The framework is concerned with the study of speech as part of social interaction. Such a study concentrates on what Hymes calls "means of speaking", which "includes information on the local *linguistic repertoire*, the totality of distinct language varieties, dialects and styles employed in a community" (Gumperz 1982a:155). Ethnographers of communication have pointed out convincingly that

... much of language use, like a grammar, is rule governed. In specifying what these rules are, they have rejected the traditional functionalist paradigms in which languages and cultures are seen as separate unitary wholes, but they tend to see speech events as bounded units, functioning somewhat like miniature social systems where norms and values constitute independent variables, separate from language proper. The task of sociolinguistic analysis, in this view, is to specify the interrelationship of such variables in events characteristic of particular social groups.

(Gumperz 1982a:155)

The study also takes its direction from work by Labov on the maintenance of dialect features in various groups of speakers of American English. Labov 1972a discusses the maintenance of a feature, the centralisation of (əy) and (əw) in the English of Martha's Vineyarders who "claim and maintain status as a native" (p.525). He speaks of the social significance of its maintenance. In the same work he discusses the maintenance of the feature of (oh) raising in the English of New Yorkers despite their own stigmatisation of it. These cases suggest that language is a signifier of group identity.

However, to think that group identity shapes language use and attitudes unidirectionally is belittling the creative role of language in shaping the identity itself. From their use of certain language features, one can discern the identity of a Vineyarder or a New Yorker, but at the same time those features are used to assert identity as well. When one considers the emotional and attitudinal significance of ethnic identity, for example, language with its subtleties is a unique device to use in forming the frequently very intimate emotional dimensions of ethnicity (Fishman 1977, Taylor and Giles 1979).

Blom and Gumperz (1972), in their study of a Norwegian community which uses a local dialect and a regional variant of Bokmål, one of the two accepted varieties of standard Norwegian, found that although all members of the community spoke both language varieties, they showed differences when it came to where and for what communicative purposes they selected among the two codes. What was normal usage for some speakers in some situations was marked for others. Furthermore,

marked forms had a tendency to be utilised to signify indirect inferences which could only be understood by those who knew both the speaker's family background and his/her position within the value system of the community. Language usage in such situations is thus a way of signifying information about the speaker's values, beliefs and attitudes that must first be found out by way of ethnographic investigation. They concluded by asserting that

... [i]n interactional sociolinguistics ... we can no longer base our analyses on the assumption that language and society constitute different kinds of reality, subject to correlational studies. Social and linguistic information is comparable only when studied within the same general analytical framework.

(Blom and Gumperz 1972:432)

More particularly, this study is concerned with the interrelation between language and identity, which in our case is manifested in terms of ethnic, sub-ethnic and class identity in the Chinese community. Throughout the study we will examine language and its components as they function as what I term *identity markers*, or what is more generally known as *speech markers* in the literature (Scherer and Giles 1979).

Giles (1979:254-255), in discussing what he terms ethnicity markers in speech, distinguishes three "typical" ethnolinguistic contact situations, namely the language choice, accommodation and assimilation paradigms. The *language choice paradigm* is found in multiethnic societies where there is a large number of coexisting ethnic groups each of which speaks its own language, often not understood by one another, but where all have a common language to use, or use one another's languages. A good example of such a society is Singapore, where many ethnic groups speak their own language, but also speak English as a common language or sometimes try to speak one another's language. The *accommodation and assimilation paradigms* occur in societies where one ethnic group (usually subordinate economically, socially and politically) either out of choice or necessity has adopted the language of the other group in interethnic contacts. The *accommodation paradigm* occurs when the subordinate group has become bilingual in their own language and that of the dominant group in order to function effectively in a society dominated by the latter group, but maintains its own ethnic language for in-group interactions. An example is the case of Hispanics in the United States, who have become bilingual in Spanish and English; they need to use English to function in an English-dominated society, but for in-group interactions they maintain Spanish. The *assimilation paradigm* occurs when the subordinate group has been de-ethnicised to varying degrees by the policies of the dominant group or has assimilated into the dominant group at least linguistically. An example of de-ethnicised groups is the case of Welsh and Breton speakers, and that of groups that have assimilated linguistically into the dominant group is the case of immigrant groups in the United States. All these groups have assimilated, voluntarily or otherwise, into the dominant English-speaking group, such that they speak English themselves.

Equally important to the abovementioned paradigms are ways in which speakers use language to mark their ethnic identity. Giles (1979:255-267) distinguishes the use of a language in itself as an ethnic speech marker, as well as the use of what he terms intralingual markers, namely phonological, grammatical, lexical and prosodic and paralinguistic markers.

Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982:5), following Glazer and Moynihan 1975, distinguish an old and a new ethnicity. The old ethnicity refers to "relationships based on the linkage of similar people, whose social identity was formed by

influences from outside the society in which they now live". It was "supported both regionally and interpersonally through reinforced social networks which joined people through clusters of occupational, neighbourhood, familial, and political ties". The new ethnicity, on the other hand, refers to "relationships based on differences distinguishing one, new indigenous group from another". It is dependent "less upon geographic proximity and shared occupations and more upon the highlighting of key differences separating one group from another". It is more a result of what Hechter (1978) defines as "reactive group formation whereby an ethnic group reasserts its historically established distinctions from other groups within a common national polity".

Linguistically, the old ethnicity is expressed in loyalty to a language other than that of the dominant group in the society, whereas the new ethnicity depends upon intralinguistic markers to create rules for the use of speech that are significantly different (Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz 1982:6).

The notion of ethnic group in this study follows that of Barth (1969) and Turner (1978). Barth proposed a non-linguistic, social psychological definition of an ethnic group as "those individuals who say they belong to ethnic group A rather than B and are willing to be treated and allow their behaviour to be interpreted and judged as As and not Bs" (cited in Giles 1979:252). Turner also promotes a cognitive definition of any social group as "two or more people who share a common social identification for themselves or, which is nearly the same thing, perceive themselves to be members of the same social category" (cited in Giles 1979:252-253).

In examining the interrelation between language and class identity, this study follows the studies by Labov (1966) and Trudgill (1974) on speech markers and social class in communities in New York and Norwich respectively. Whereas in their studies only phonological markers are studied, in this study I will extend the scope to the study of the linguistic repertoire itself as a marker of class identity. Robinson (1979:212) suggests that socioeconomic status "does not operate as a single independent variable; it can interact with and can be confounded with other components of social identity". In fact, ethnic identity is in many cases not independent of social stratification.

The Chinese community of Pasuruan provides the sociolinguist with a multilingual minority community under pressure to assimilate into the majority community but at the same time through historical development holding on to certain values and attitudes that create a separate identity. Since the turn of the century the Chinese of Indonesia have been searching for an identity, and it is interesting to examine the trends nowadays and how language and language history reflect them. As a result of different economic and educational opportunities as well as different political outlooks throughout the history of the Chinese of Indonesia, one finds now different dividing lines criss-crossing the community. This diversity will be discussed in detail in Section 2.2.3; suffice it here to say that this political and economic diversity is accompanied by diversity in the linguistic repertoire of the Chinese.

To begin with, most members of the community use either Javanese or Malay/Indonesian as their major code, the exception being the very Westernised elite, which uses Dutch, and the China-born immigrants, who use their regional dialects. As a result of the different language streams of education prevalent in the community up to 1965, when Chinese-medium schools were finally closed indefinitely, one finds people using Malay/Indonesian, Mandarin or Dutch with varying degrees of competence. Significantly, this multilingual situation gives rise to code-switching and borrowing, and reflects itself in diverse attitudes towards the different codes, revealed by the different subgroups in the community.

Another interesting point to be examined in this study is the fact that although for many Chinese, especially the Indonesian-educated, there are available supraethnic varieties of Indonesian, in the sense that they can competently use them, yet they maintain the use of varieties of Malay or Javanese, marked for ethnicity or class, in quite a lot of interactions in their in-group.

It is thus hoped that this study will be a contribution to the sociolinguistic theory of language and identity. Of especial interest are the questions of accommodation as opposed to assimilation, the maintenance or adjustment of identity, as well as the question of language maintenance and language shift proper.

### 1.3 SPECIFIC QUESTIONS TO BE EXAMINED

Given the aim and scope of the study, and the theoretical framework on which it is based, the following more specific questions are to be examined here:

1. How does group identity affect code repertoire (by the use of different languages or language varieties) and what is the correlation between language attitudes and group identity?
2. How do code repertoire and language attitudes establish and assert group identity?
3. Based on the answers to (1) and (2), what changes have been and are taking place in the community since the 1960s?
4. Based on the findings in (3), how feasible is Chinese assimilation into the larger Indonesian society or into the majority ethnic group (i.e. Javanese or Madurese)?
5. What changes are foreseeable in the Chinese community in terms of their ethnic and class identities as these are interrelated with languages?

### 1.4 METHODOLOGY AND DATA

#### 1.4.1 Determining the population and sample

The field research was carried out in the town of Pasuruan, East Java from May 1982 to June 1983. This particular site was chosen because (1) the Chinese community there is a very old community, thus providing one with the full range of variations common in Java's Chinese communities; (2) its comparatively small size makes it easier to handle for such a microscopic study; and (3) being a native of the area, I have good access to the ethnic Chinese community there.

The population of the study consists of the 5,500 or so ethnic Chinese in the town.<sup>11</sup> Since in Pasuruan there is an exclusively Chinese cemetery, and a well-organised funerary association whose 1,216 adult members are almost all Chinese (non-Chinese members only numbering 17 people, namely employees of the association), I decided to obtain a list of members from the association, which I assumed would contain all the Chinese households in town. Membership in the association was by household, in the sense that only older members of the household were registered and paid dues and so on, but should a younger member of a household die, the association would also give assistance in the burial or cremation. In conducting my research, I also used the household as a unit, partly because of the way the association membership list was set up, and partly because of the importance placed on the household in the Chinese community.



By consulting the membership list, I selected 30 households with all the possible variations in the community in mind. The smallest household consisted of a couple and their servant, and the largest one consisted of a couple, their eight children and their two servants. There were a total of 182 people in the 30 households. Thus, with the help of officials of the association and established members of the Chinese community (people who had lived in Pasuruan most or all of their lives and knew most Chinese in town), I selected Peranakan and Totok households, rich and poor households, households that were China-oriented, Westernised or otherwise; in short, I used the variables of subethnicity, class, education, cultural and political orientation, age, religion, and occupation. In general I tried to obtain a sample that was representative of the diversity in the Chinese community.

#### 1.4.2 Participant observations

While determining the sample, however, I was already engaged in participant observations as I tried to meet with and be introduced (or reintroduced, in many cases) to as many people as possible, both Chinese and non-Chinese, in the town. I generally explained that I was in town to study language use in the Chinese community (/mau mempelajari penggunaan bahasa di kalangan orang tyongwha/ *to want to study language use among the Chinese*, or more colloquially, /kepingin tau yagapa orang tyongwha pakéq macem-macem bahasa/ *to want to know how the Chinese use different languages*, or in Mandarin, yao yanjiu huaqiao de yuyan 要研究华侨的语言 *to want to study the language(s) of the Overseas Chinese*). Many of the people who knew me beforehand would sometimes think that I would be interested in studying Mandarin, and referred me to the few former Mandarin teachers in town, but I usually managed to convince them that that was not my intention, by explaining briefly how the Chinese community uses different languages and language varieties, by giving concrete examples. It was during these participant observations that I obtained data about the community and its diversity, but at the same time I already started obtaining linguistic data. Thus, I did not limit myself to the 30-household sample, although it did form a core group that I researched thoroughly. The term *informant* in this study, then, refers to people in the sample as well as other people in the community.

As regards the informants that are part of the core sample, I did not only observe and interview them in their homes, but whenever possible I went with one or more members of a household to public places, such as sports halls, movie theatres, the marketplace, the temple, churches, government offices and so on. In this way I was able to observe them in their interactions with different people in different situations.

In these participant observations, besides trying to place the Chinese in context, i.e. among their non-Chinese neighbours, I also observed the latter as much as possible, the idea being not to study the Chinese in isolation, although the Chinese themselves obviously received more attention than the non-Chinese in the study. Data concerning the Javanese are also available in the literature (e.g. Geertz 1960, 1963, Geertz 1961 for the society and culture; Kartomihardjo 1981 for ethnography of communication), and I did use them. However, I also took notes concerning the non-Chinese community in general, although with my concentration on the Chinese, these were not as thorough as the ones I took concerning the Chinese. The discussions concerning the non-Chinese in this work, then, will be based on my own observations as well as on information in the literature.



### 1.4.3 Interviews and recordings of ongoing conversations

As soon as I had established my 30-household sample, what I did next was to try to know them as well as possible, by observing them as closely as possible and conducting in-depth interviews with different members of the household. These interviews were important to get to know the sociological variables that I expected would correlate with their language behaviour and attitudes. Besides the factual questions of age, educational background, length of residence in Pasuruan and so on, I especially tried to get them to tell me about their attitudes towards being Chinese, towards being Chinese in Indonesia, towards the non-Chinese, as well as about their aspirations and orientations. I also got them to tell me about their language use, beginning with what languages are used in the household, and proceeding to things like their attitudes towards certain languages. When older members of a household told me that they taught their children another language or wished they could do so, I tried to find out their aspirations concerning the language, as well as about other languages.

I did not tape the interviews, but took brief notes and later (mostly on the same day) typed up a summary of the interviews. However, as soon as I started dealing with the people in the core sample more and more, I recorded various types of ongoing conversations using a Sony TCS-310 stereophonic tape recorder with built-in microphones. In all of the recording sessions, the informants were not aware that they were being recorded. I saw this as very important to make sure that their utterances were as natural as possible. I tried to record as many types of speech events as could possibly occur and were feasible to record. To compensate for inaudible recordings and cases where I ran out of tape, I also made constant observations, although results from these were limited to one or two utterances that I could quickly note down. However, sometimes these utterances could not be recorded (such as utterances in a big meeting hall where the dominant sound was a speech so that the microphones could not pick them up), yet I believe they were still useful. At any rate, I mostly relied on audible, intelligible recordings in coming up with the analysis in this study.

The recordings were immediately transcribed, using broad phonetic transcription, and whenever necessary I made notes on the transcriptions concerning variations and things that I did not expect in general. After the field research was finished, I ran the texts through a concordance program using SPITBOL programming language.<sup>12</sup> The concordance listed and counted the occurrences of every morpheme in the texts, listed all the Javanese,<sup>13</sup> Hokkien, Mandarin, Dutch and English borrowed forms, and grouped all the utterances of a particular speaker in a cluster. This list of utterances by speakers was needed most particularly, to see what code was used by them in what situations and in speaking to whom. The list of borrowed forms also included utterances that were entirely in Javanese, Hokkien, Mandarin or Dutch. Thus, besides being used to examine when borrowed forms were used, the list was also used to examine the use of the codes themselves. This was possible since all morphemes were listed in their context of occurrence. The borrowed forms were marked by the different source languages, and thus one could examine if a speech event was conducted in a code other than Malay/Indonesian by the fact that all the morphemes were marked. On the other hand, when only some of the morphemes were marked, it was an indication that codeswitching or borrowing was taking place, or where no marked forms at all occurred, then the utterance was completely in Malay/Indonesian.

#### 1.4.4 On doing research in one's native community

I believe that the researcher's cultural background inevitably influences the way s/he goes about conducting the research and especially the way s/he analyses the results. I would here like to explain my background, and it should be against this background that this study is perceived. In other words, I do not rule out the possibility of my cultural and class biases finding their way into the study. Other researchers from different backgrounds might look into the same questions differently and come up with different results and analyses.

I was born in Pasuruan in 1953 and spent the next 15 years living there. My immediate family and many of our relatives still live there, so that even after I went to live somewhere else I frequently came to visit. My family can be classified into what in this study is called the Westernised, upper-class Peranakan Chinese, although the family never went all the way with Westernisation. On my mother's side, the extended family have always lived in Pasuruan since the first immigrants came some time in the 19th century.

Although my pre-university education was in Indonesian-medium schools, my university education (since 1972) has been mostly in English, and I underwent what I perceive as a strong Westernisation (mostly through contact with American teachers and friends), which was then followed since about 1977 by a wave of re-Sinification (through readings in English about China and the Chinese and through my study of Mandarin and Hokkien at Cornell), which in turn (since 1979) was followed by another wave of indigenisation, mostly through the atmosphere conducive to Indonesia-oriented studies and activities at Cornell. Linguistically, this was manifested by an interest in Western languages, then Chinese dialects and later in Indonesian languages.

I have taken full advantage of this background in conducting this study. A large part of the analysis concerning the upper-class Peranakan has been influenced by my being part of that subgroup in the Chinese community, although I have tried to be very careful about not letting my cultural and class biases influence me in my analysis.

Linguistically, being a native of the speech community, I had the advantage of being sensitive to the language use and language attitudes to which I had been exposed since childhood. On the other hand, I might have overlooked details that as a native I took for granted. The case is different when it comes to the use of languages that I did not master before I started graduate work, namely Mandarin and Hokkien. My approach to these two codes was that of a non-native speaker, so that here I might have missed pertinent nuances and variations. At any rate, I always kept these facts in mind during the period of field research and afterwards when writing up this work.

### 1.5 ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY

Chapter 2, immediately following this introductory chapter, discusses the Chinese community in Pasuruan. It starts with a description of the town and its inhabitants, and continues into a more detailed description of the Chinese, dealing with the questions of identity, diversity, and relations with non-Chinese.

Chapter 3 is a survey of the structures of the codes used in the repertoire of the Chinese, especially the particular ways in which they are used by the Chinese.

Chapter 4 discusses the historical and present-day functions of Javanese and Malay/Indonesian in the Chinese community, especially as they relate to their identity.

Chapter 5 discusses the historical and present-day functions of Chinese dialects, Dutch and English as well as loanwords from these codes in the Chinese community, again as they relate to their identity.

Chapter 6 sums up and concludes the discussions in the body of the study, and tries to project directions for future research.

In the Appendix, I provide samples of texts taken from the transcriptions of the recorded speech events, emphasising the diverse varieties of languages used in the community.

Examples and notes are numbered for each individual chapter. When references are made to those in a different chapter, it will be so indicated, otherwise references are to examples and notes in the same chapter.

## 1.6 A NOTE ON PRESENTATION OF LINGUISTIC DATA

All recorded data and quotations from informants will be transcribed phonemically. For the value of the phonemic symbols, see the tables of phonemic inventory in Chapter 3. When necessary, allophonic variants will be given in phonetic transcription using the International Phonetic Association symbols. Morpheme-by-morpheme translations are given immediately afterwards, followed by translations in idiomatic English.

Forms from Hokkien and Hakka will be followed by their original pronunciation and the Chinese characters used to write them. Forms of Mandarin provenience will be followed by their original in *Pinyin* romanisation and the Chinese characters used to write them. Some of my informants provided some of the Chinese characters for the Hokkien forms; otherwise, I consulted Beijing *daxue* etc. 1964 for kinship terms, Francken and de Grijns 1882 and Barclay 1923 for other Hokkien forms, and Mathews 1944 and Beijing *waiquoyu xueyuan* etc. 1981 for Mandarin forms. Dutch forms will be followed by their original in standard spelling.

To protect my informants' anonymity, I have changed all personal and place names in the examples within the body of the work and in the sample texts in the Appendix.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. There are potentially instances where an individual who may be identified by others as Chinese does not identify him/herself as such, or the other way around. While it is very interesting to study those instances, from my observations I did not find any such individuals, and thus I do not have the relevant data to discuss them.
2. cf. note 1 for exceptions to this definition; the criteria for identifying Chinese will be discussed in detail in Section 2.2.2.
3. For further details, see Section 2.2.3.3.
4. For a survey of studies up to 1977, see Suryadinata 1978c. See also the bibliography by Nagelkerke (1982).

5. Representative of such studies are de Groot 1885; van Sandick 1909; Hoetink 1917, 1918, 1922; Fromberg 1926; Vleming 1926; Kwee 1931, 1969 (1939); Liem 1933; Cator 1936; Vermeulen 1938; Nio 1940; Liem 1947; Skinner 1958, 1960, 1963; Pramoedya 1960; Williams 1960; Willmott 1961; Somers 1964, 1965; Wertheim n.d., 1964; Coppel 1970, 1975, 1983; Lie 1970; Sukisman 1975; Mackie 1976a; Liem 1980.
6. The Peranakan form a subgroup of the Chinese communities where Chinese have settled for more than a hundred years, characterised mostly by their partial acculturation into the local indigenous culture. See Section 2.2.3 for a detailed discussion of the Peranakan.
7. Two exceptions should be mentioned. One I already mentioned earlier, namely van Reenen 1981. Unfortunately this study is much too brief and thus does not compare well with the four earlier studies. The other is Suwardi 1973, a thesis written on the Chinese community of Blora, Central Java. I have unfortunately not been able to examine this work. It is possible that social scientists in Indonesia have done similar studies on different Chinese communities in the country, but none is listed in Nagelkerke's bibliography (1982). Hendrati 1975 does list a few anthropology theses done at the University of Indonesia, but these are again not generally available.
8. cf. e.g. Skinner 1958:3, Willmott 1960:111, Somers 1965:4, and Coppel 1973: 144, to mention but a few works.
9. One may reasonably surmise that minor studies have been conducted by linguistic students and linguists in the form of papers and theses, but these are usually not readily available for review. Nagelkerke 1982, for example, lists two brief studies on bilingualism and interference among the Chinese of Semarang and on interference from Javanese in the Indonesian spoken by the Chinese of Semarang, respectively (Sulistio et al 1978).
10. Totok Chinese form the other subgroup besides the Peranakan. They tend to be less acculturated to a local indigenous culture. For a more detailed description, see Section 2.2.3.1.
11. Figure from Biro Pusat Statistik 1980.
12. Especial thanks to Joel Fagan for taking time from his busy schedule to write the program.
13. Based on the fact that most of my informants reported that they used Malay/Indonesian as their major code, and in order to be consistent, I decided to treat Malay/Indonesian forms as the unmarked forms in making the concordance.

## Chapter 2

### PASURUAN AND THE CHINESE OF PASURUAN

In order to understand the interrelation between language and identity, the subject of the present work, one must, in addition to examining the language behaviour and language attitudes of the people studied, look into the question of their identity. Thus, before discussing the language component of my study, I will first discuss the Chinese of Pasuruan as a minority community in a small coastal town in the eastern part of East Java. To enhance our understanding of the Pasuruan area, I will start with a brief history of the area. I will then describe the contemporary situation of the town of Pasuruan and its immediate surrounding areas. Only after that will I describe the Chinese of Pasuruan in detail. Obviously there will be points where it would be impossible not to talk about the Chinese when I discuss Pasuruan in general; nevertheless, for the sake of convenience I will separate the discussion of the Chinese community.

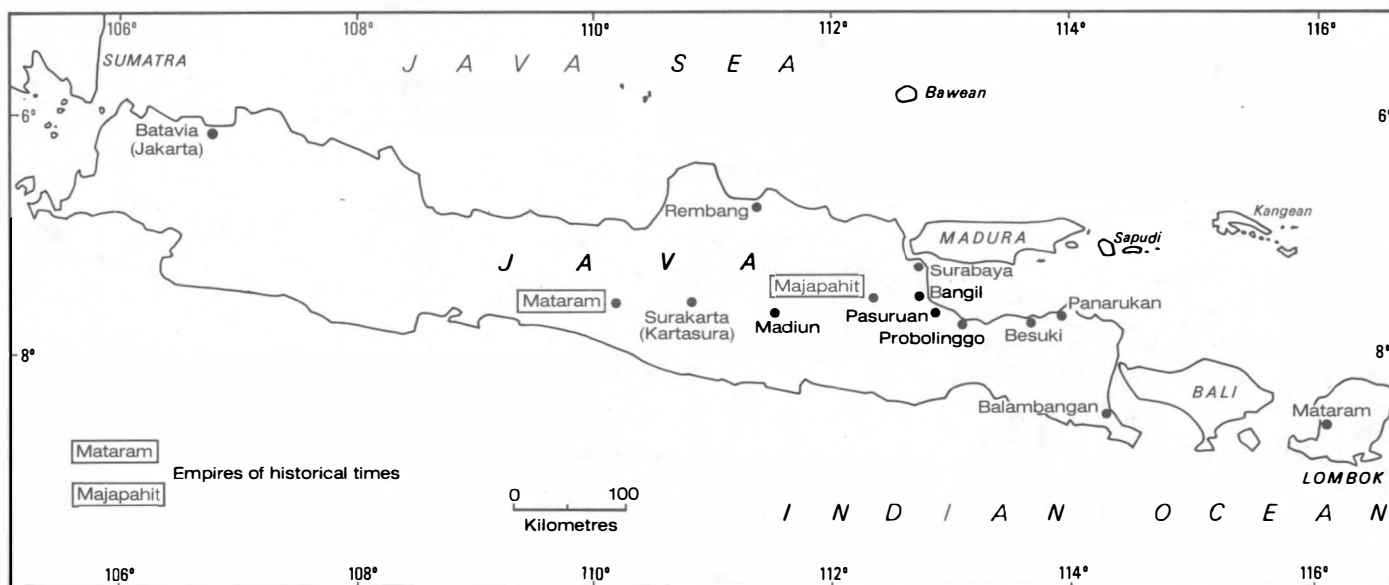
#### 2.1 PASURUAN: THE TOWN AND ITS ENVIRONS

##### 2.1.1 A brief history of the area

The earliest text mentioning the Pasuruan area that has been discovered so far, the *Nāgara-Kērtāgama* (1365), mentioned Pasuruhan (i.e. as the name is romanised from the original Old Javanese script; cf. Pigeaud 1960-1963, vol.1, 26; vol.3, 38) in relation to the travels of King Hayam Wuruk from Majapahit through the eastern part of Java and back to Singasari in the year 1359. Although as early as the 12th century there was already the Kingdom of Singasari not so far to the south, it seems that Pasuruan was not yet an important town in the 14th century (Pigeaud 1960-1963, vol.4, 103), although the area was already populated in the 10th and 11th centuries (*Encyclopædie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 2e druk, vol.8, 282).

The *Encyclopædie* (2e druk, vol.3, 358; vol.8, 282) mentions an etymology for the name of Pasuruan, namely that it is derived from the Javanese root /suróh/ *betel* (it is expected in Javanese morphophonemics that when the /pa- -an/ circumfix is attached to such a root, the /ó/ phoneme is changed to an /u/, and the final /h/ is considerably weakened to the point of being lost). The *encyclopaedia* also gives the Kromo (High) Javanese equivalent of the name, which is /pasedahan/, from the root /sedah/ *betel*. This latter name has gone out of use, though, and the meaning of Pasuruan as *place where betel grows* is no longer known in the area nowadays. The alternative name Gëmbong, which was used by most Javanese up to the beginning of this century (*Encyclopædie* 2e druk, vol.3, 358), has also been forgotten now.

At the beginning of the 16th century, there was already a town called Pasuruan (*Encyclopædie* 2e druk, vol.3, 358). Pasuruan was converted to Islam by the northern Central Javanese kingdom of Demak perhaps as early as in the



Map 2.1: Historical map of Java and Madura

1530s (Ricklefs 1981:34). At any rate, it became the only Islamic power of any importance in the eastern part of East Java during the 16th century. The region east of Pasuruan, however, remained under Hindu rule. There seemed to be raids conducted by Pasuruan on Hindu Balambangan at various intervals in the century, and Balambangan seemed to have been conquered by the very end of the century (Ricklefs 1981:36).

Under the reign of Sultan Agung (1613-1646), the Central Javanese kingdom of Mataram invaded the southern part of Surabaya, which perhaps included Pasuruan, in 1614, and again in 1616 or 1617 (Ricklefs 1981:40). In this way, Pasuruan came to be ruled by a succession of *bupati* (regents) who were vassals of Mataram. Official histories written and published by the regency government recently start with Darmoyudo I (1613-1645) (cf. e.g. Humas Pemkab Dati II Pasuruan 1983, p.1 after p.17).

At any rate, the area around Pasuruan remained a frontier area of Mataram, especially due to its adjacency to the "stubborn remnants of Hinduism in the easternmost corner of the island": it "served both as a field of combat and a redoubt for rebels" (Elson 1979:9).

Towards the end of the 17th century, Surapati, a Balinese who while a youth had been sold as a slave in Batavia, escaped and led a gang of bandits around the city until he was co-opted by the Dutch into joining their army, made Pasuruan his base after deserting the Dutch army and later attacking the Dutch garrison at the capital of Mataram, Kartasura, in the year 1686 (Kumar 1976:18-33).<sup>1</sup> In Pasuruan he "set up ... 'a semi-independent principality'", ruling as Raden Arya Wiranegara.

Pasuruhan soon became a centre for anti-Dutch elements from all over the archipelago: Malays from many different parts, Makassarese, Balinese and Chinese, the last group providing a service as 'smugglers' (to use the V.O.C. term) of fire-arms.

(Kumar 1976:34-35)

Surapati's power kept expanding and by 1699 it extended as far as Madiun in the western part of East Java. The crown prince of Mataram, who later became Amangkura III (1703-1708), realising that pro-Dutch elements in the palace were threatening himself and his succession to the throne, allied himself with Surapati. The Dutch tried to subdue them on behalf of Mataram, and although Surapati was killed at Bangil, a short distance west of the town of Pasuruan, in 1706, they did not conquer Pasuruan until the following year. Surapati's sons and followers retreated to the south and for a while held sway over the area (Kumar 1976:36-42).

The Dutch then ruled the territory in the name of Mataram, until in 1743 Pakubuwana II (1726-1749) "ceded to [them] full sovereignty over West Madura, Surabaya, Rembang, Jember and the Eastern Salient" (Ricklefs 1981:89, Elson 1979:10). The Dutch had appointed *bupati* whose real authority depended on how much allegiance they paid to the Dutch. Around 1740 one Wongsonegoro, formerly a follower of Surapati, defected to the Dutch and was made *Bupati* of Pasuruan with the title of Kiyahi Tumenggung Nitinegoro. At any rate, the Dutch did not gain much from their hard-won territory, especially since the area had been ravaged by war (Elson 1979:10). It was only after 1772 that "the region as a whole enjoyed its first snatch of peace for nearly a hundred years" (Elson 1979:11).

Around the middle of the 18th century, the various *bupati* leased areas of land to Chinese who ran sugar mills on them. The latter had power over the

inhabitants as well, and delivered the sugar to the Dutch (Elson 1978:29). By the time of the British interregnum (1811-1816), Raffles noted that sugarcane was widely cultivated in the area (Elson 1978:30). It was Raffles who sold the *particuliere landerijen* (landed estates) of Banyuwangi to the Chinese Captain of Pasuruan, Han Tik-ko, after having previously sold those of Panarukan and Besuki to the latter's older brother, Major Han Tjan-pit of Surabaya. Han Tik-ko

... ruled as a Javanese *bupati* with rights of taxation, own administration and police. [He] went farthest among the two brothers in assuming all the trappings of a semi-sovereign landlord, which *bupatis* were after all at that time. [He] moved into the *Banyuwangi kabupaten*, had himself shaded by an umbrella of a *Tumenggung* and assumed all the other paraphernalia of Javanese traditional rule. Raffles flattered them further by granting them a coat of arms.

(Onghokham 1982:285)

The whole thing ended tragically for Han Tik-ko. Since he paid too high a price for the estates, he tried to compensate by levying heavy taxes on the population, who eventually rebelled and killed him in 1814. His family fled to Pasuruan, and although the British could easily have suppressed the rebellion, Raffles decided to buy back both his estates and those of Han Tjan-pit in Panarukan and Besuki (Onghokham 1982:285).

The Pasuruan area figured importantly once more on the stage of Java's history when on 13 August 1830 Governor-General van den Bosch decreed, as part of the Cultivation System, "that in all Residencies of the island of Java, where the situation is favourable for it, the cultivation of sugar shall be introduced and expanded" (Elson 1978:26). This decree had a large impact on the economic and social life of everybody in the Pasuruan area, especially since it was the region "in which the orders were most immediately and industriously carried out" (Elson 1978:26; see this work for a detailed description of the impact). Sugarcane cultivation and the sugar industry brought general prosperity to many inhabitants of the area, and for a long time Pasuruan was one of the wealthiest areas of Java (Elson 1978:46). Although the sugar crisis of 1884 did have an impact on the general prosperity of the area, it was still relatively wealthy, such that at the turn of the 20th century, the town ranked fourth among the trading towns of Java (Elson 1979a:226; *Encyclopædie 2e druk*, vol.3, 359). In 1901 it was made the capital of a residency comprising the present-day regencies of Pasuruan, Probolinggo, Malang and Lumajang.

The town then declined in its economic importance as a result of several factors. The estuary of the Gembong River gradually became silted, which reduced the importance of the harbour. More importantly, early this century the Surabaya harbour was upgraded and together with the opening of the Surabaya-Malang railroad made Pasuruan rather superfluous and in turn made it into an economic backwater. The sugar industry received a heavy blow during the sugar crisis of 1923, and the Great Depression dealt the final blow. The capital of the residency was then moved to Malang in 1930 (Onghokham 1982:289; *Encyclopædie 2e druk*, vol.8, 282-283). Pasuruan has not recovered since.

The Japanese came in 1942, and older Pasuruaners still remember the Japanese occupation (1942-1945) as a very difficult and frightening period. After the 17 August 1945 declaration of independence, the area was part of the Republic of Indonesia. Unfortunately it was also at this time that some opportunistic bands of hooligans posing as guerilla fighters went looting the houses of the wealthier members of society, mostly Chinese. Dutch forces returned to Indonesia after the



Japanese occupation and the declaration of independence, and the Pasuruan area became part of Dutch-occupied territory from the time of the first Dutch Military Action (July 1947) to the time the Dutch recognised Indonesia's sovereignty (December 1949).

Nothing much happened in Pasuruan until 1965, when in the aftermath of the abortive 30 September Movement coup attempt, blamed on the *Partai Komunis Indonesia* (P.K.I. 'Indonesian Communist Party'), a great number of people who were members of the PKI and its affiliate mass organisations as well as many who were thought to have a leaning towards communism were massacred in the area. Many of my informants still remember the victims, the corpses, mass graves and epidemics.

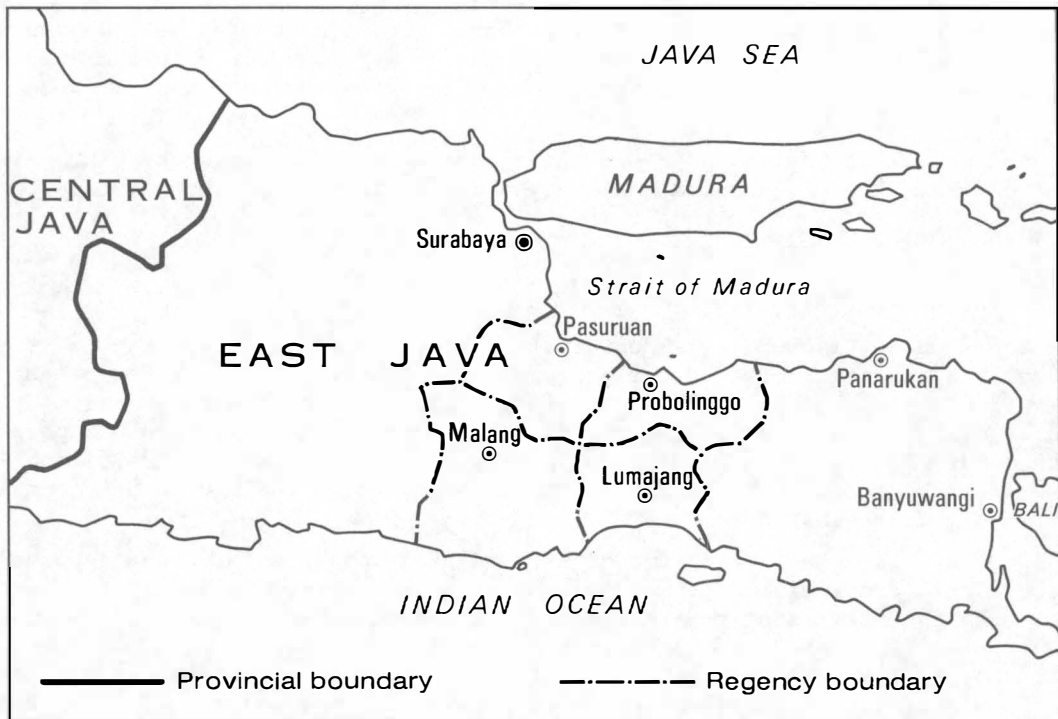
But people go on living, hoping that such things will never happen again, and from that time on the area has enjoyed a considerable period of peace.

### 2.1.2 The present-day situation

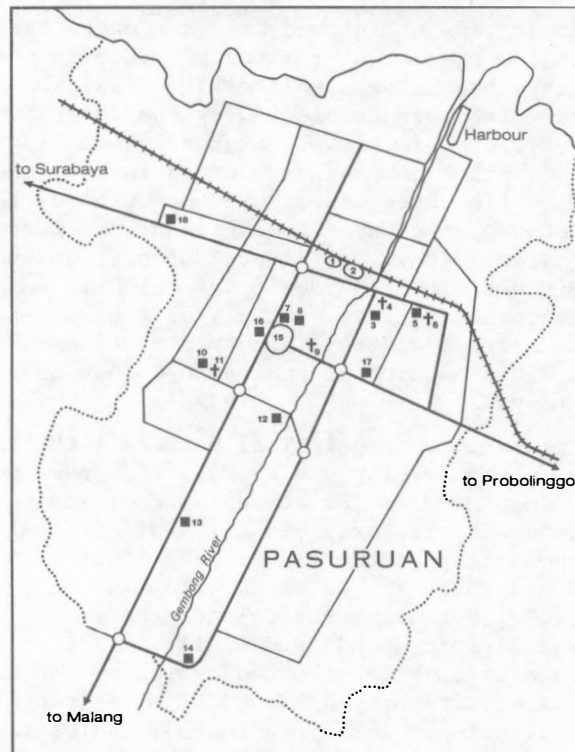
The town of Pasuruan is a municipality (*kotamadya daerah tingkat II*) situated on the northern coast of the eastern part of East Java Province (see Map 2.2). It is also the capital of a regency (*kabupaten*) by the same name. It has an area of 13.58 km<sup>2</sup>, and at the end of 1981 had a population of 94,045 people,<sup>2</sup> which means that it has a population density of 6,927 per km<sup>2</sup>. The Gembong River flows from the south to the north approximately through the middle of the town and flows into the harbour.

Pasuruan is not far from two of eastern East Java's major urban centres, Surabaya, the provincial capital (63 km away), and Malang (55 km away), which used to be the capital of the residency<sup>3</sup> (*karesidenan*) which included Pasuruan Regency. As the capital of Pasuruan Regency, the town serves as a hub for different activities for the inhabitants of the immediate surrounding area, such as education, commerce and communications. The regency has an area of 1,315.2 km<sup>2</sup>, and in 1980 had a population of 1,029,921 people.<sup>4</sup> It stretches from the Straits of Madura coastline to the Tengger Mountains in the east and the cluster of mountains in the west (see Map 2.2).

There are four main thoroughfares in town, two of which run parallel to the coastline from west to east as part of the northern Java highway and two others which run from north to south from the harbour. The main business districts as well as the main marketplace (*Pasar Gedé*) are located on parts of these thoroughfares, and so are the *alun-alun* (town square), the town hall, the Grand Mosque (*Masjid Jami'*), the town stadium, and the general hospital. Alongside the thoroughfares are also elite residential areas (see Map 2.3).



Map 2.2: East Java Province



- 1 Railroad station
- 2 Pasar Gedé
- 3 Town Hall
- 4 Catholic Church
- 5 Bus/ Minibus Terminal
- 6 Protestant Church
- 7 Post Office
- 8 Regent's Residence
- 9 Pentecostal Church
- 10 Police Station
- 11 Chinese-language Pentecostal Church
- 12 Regency Offices
- 13 Camat's Office
- 14 General Hospital
- 15 Alun-alun
- 16 Grand Mosque
- 17 Army Command Headquarters
- 18 Army Engineers Battalion

Map 2.3: Town of Pasuruan

### 2.1.2.1 Political life

The town of Pasuruan is administered as a *kotamadya daerah tingkat II* (municipality), a unit one step down from the province in the Indonesian civil administration hierarchy, headed by a *walikota* (mayor), who is appointed by the Governor out of one or more nominees elected by the legislature, the 20-member *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah* (D.P.R.D. 'Regional Council of People's Representatives'). Sixteen of the members are elected in the general elections held once every five years, while three others are appointed by the Armed Forces, and the last one is appointed by the Mayor to represent non-party social groups. It shares the *Pengadilan Negeri* (Court of First Instance) and the *Kejaksaan Negeri* (State Prosecutor's Office) with the regency of which it is capital. In addition, they share various government offices, as well as the *Resort Polisi* (Police District) and the *Komando Distrik Militer* (Army District Command). The *Batalyon Zeni Tempur 10/Amfibi* (10th Amphibious Engineers Combat Battalion) of the Army is also stationed in town.

The three government-approved political parties - the *Partai Persatuan Pembangunan* ([Muslim] United Development Party), the government-supported and Armed Forces-backed *Golongan Karva* (Functional Group) and the *Partai Demokrasi Indonesia* (Indonesian Democratic Party [a fusion of nationalist and Christian elements from former political parties]) all have their branches in town. In the elections of 1977 and 1982, the United Development Party won 53.16% and 53.8% of the votes respectively, defeating the *Golongan Karya* (40.3% and 36.79%) and the Indonesian Democratic Party (6.54% and 9.41%).<sup>5</sup> In fact, the Pasuruan area has traditionally been a stronghold of orthodox Islam. In the 1955 parliamentary elections, the orthodox Muslim party *Nahdatul Ulama* gained 61.04% of the votes for the entire regency, while in 1971 it gained 50.24% of the votes in the municipality.<sup>6</sup>

One hierarchical level down from the municipal government, the town is administered as a *kecamatan* (district) headed by a *camat* appointed by the municipal government. This has an Army counterpart in the *Komando Rayon Militer* (Army Subdistrict Command). The Pasuruan town district consists of 19 *desa* (wards). These are each headed by a *kepala desa* (ward chief), who is elected by the inhabitants. S/he is also responsible to the *camat*, however, and since 1982 all *kepala desa* have been made civil servants in the Department of the Interior, just like all civil administrators above them. In addition to the Army presence in town, one also finds various *Pertahanan Sipil* (Hansip 'Civil Defense') detachments attached to the district, the wards, and to the different companies and government offices in town. The members of these detachments are some able-bodied male inhabitants of the administrative areas and employees of the companies and offices.

Below the ward level one finds the *Rukun Warga* (Inhabitants' Associations), which in turn consist of *Rukun Tetangga* (Neighbourhood Associations). The administration of these associations is carried out by a number of volunteers elected at regular public meetings. They may also form their own Civil Defense detachments.

### 2.1.2.2 Economic life

One could start to get an idea of the types of economic activities that Pasuruaners do by looking at the 1981 statistics. If we leave out housewives, schoolchildren, very young children and so on, who amount to 53.21% of the population (50,044 people), those who are unemployed (7.69% [7,194 people]), and

those who are retired (1.58% [1,487 people]), we get a working population consisting of 35,320 people. 47.23% (16,681) of these are government and non-government workers and members of the Armed Forces. This category is unfortunately too general, since it groups together anybody who works for any establishment. Thus, mechanics, nurses, clerks, government doctors and researchers, shop assistants and coolies are all put in the same category. 14.39% (5,083 people) work on fishing, either catching fish at sea or cultivating them in ponds. They live mostly in the northern part of town, along the coastline. 5.75% (2,031 people) work as farm labourers, while 4.46% (1,576 people) till their own farmland. The farm labourers and farmers live on the outer fringes of town, where all the cultivated land is found. Traders of all sorts form 21.62% of the working population (7,637 people). Again, this category is very general: owners of big stores and medium-sized industries are lumped together with itinerant vegetable, fruit or fish vendors and food hawkers. The remaining 6.55% (2,312 people) are paupers and beggars (*fakir miskin*).

The municipal statistical report does not categorise people into socioeconomic classes. In general, one can consider the higher-echelon government bureaucrats, Armed Forces middle officers, professionals, owners of industries, large stores and farm land or fish ponds as belonging to the upper class in Pasuruan. These people live on the main thoroughfares in relatively large houses, some of which are also used as stores. The middle class can be considered to consist of middle-echelon white-collar workers, Armed Forces non-commissioned and junior officers, and traders who lease stalls in the marketplaces or run small stores a distance from the main business districts. They tend to live in the side-streets off the main thoroughfares, or in a few communal houses on the main thoroughfares. The rest of the population - janitors, office messengers, coolies, itinerant vendors and hawkers, servants, farm labourers, small-operation fishermen, workers at the various industries, and the rank and file of the Armed Forces - can be considered to form the lower class. They tend to live in the outer fringes of town, or in alleys behind the large buildings of the main thoroughfares and their side-streets.

When it comes to land use (1981 statistics), 41.8% (565,761 ha) of all the land in town is cultivated as *sawah* (wet rice fields), while .6% (7,040 ha) is cultivated as *tegal* (dry-cultivated fields) and 8.5% (113,307 ha) is used as fish ponds. The main crop is rice, while corn and soybean are marginal crops. However, agricultural activity in the town itself does not amount to much; most of the produce comes from the other districts in the regency and from other places. Different kinds of fruit are also commercially cultivated: mangoes, citrus fruits, guavas, papayas, bananas and so on. The *Badan Urusan Logistik* (Logistics Bureau) keeps rice warehouses near the western town border.

Animal husbandry is also a small operation in Pasuruan. One finds different kinds of cattle kept both for work animals in the fields and for their meat and milk, as well as poultry. The town is more significant when it comes to fishery, which as I said earlier is concentrated in the northern part.

One only finds one major industrial enterprise in town, a recently established Indonesian-Dutch joint-venture construction and metallurgic company that has three units in different parts of town. Otherwise one finds small industries producing preserved foods, ready-made clothing, furniture, confectionery and so on, some of which are "exported" to other places. In connection with the East Java sugar industry, Pasuruan houses the East Java Sugar Experimentation Station, which is witness to the town's former importance in the sugar industry (see below).

There are three major marketplaces in town; one finds only a few large-scale traders catering to the needs of smaller traders both in town and in the surrounding area. Most of the other traders only conduct retail trade in foodstuffs, textiles (materials and ready-made clothing), or sell prepared food in small stalls. One can also obtain different services, such as having a haircut or having one's shoes resoled.

The harbour is a fairly important one in East Java, serving interinsular trade with Madura and the islands to the east. "Exported" are merchandise like rice and other agricultural produce, furniture, oil, pottery, sugar, building materials and so on. "Imported" are merchandise like salt, fish, copra, timber, cattle, cloves, spices and so forth.

There are a few cooperatives in town, usually attached to the different government offices, where members can get basic necessities at relatively inexpensive prices. Some of these cooperatives are credit unions for people in the same profession, such as teachers, members of the Army and so forth. However, since for most people it is a real trick to make both ends meet, the *arisan* (rotating credit union) is still a convenient way of saving money to buy consumer goods such as sewing machines, television sets and motorbikes. A few stores as well as private entrepreneurs sell these goods by the instalment plan, charging interest on the agreed price. (Curiously, this is known to many people as a kind of *arisan*, too, called *arisan drop*. The atmosphere surrounding the transaction is more like that of a social visit between neighbours, though, and perhaps this is why it is considered to be like an *arisan*.)

Finally, I should mention the various kinds of stores, situated on the main thoroughfare, selling different types of merchandise: foodstuffs, clothing, prepared food, medicines (modern and traditional), stationery, bicycles, motorbikes, scrap-iron, radios and tape recorders, television sets, audio- and video-tapes and so on. There are also restaurants and smaller food stalls, lending libraries (providing novels and comic books) and video-cassette rentals (these last two establishments will be discussed in more detail in Section 2.1.2.4). In addition, on the side streets one can find smaller stores, and in fact in any neighbourhood one can find two or three stores selling basic necessities. I should also mention the different services offered by tailors, dressmakers, shoemakers, car mechanics and the like, which can be found in all parts of town. The town is served by small-operation branches of three state-owned banks and a few state and private insurance companies.

In general, Pasuruan can be considered a small trading town, with its harbour serving as an exit and entry point for merchandise to and from the immediate surrounding area as well as areas further inland. It is also a sort of hub for the economic activities of the regency and areas further afield, absorbing agricultural produce and other products from the rural area and providing people from there with materials they cannot produce themselves. Strictly speaking, nothing much goes on in the town. Many of its natives tend to leave town as soon as they see an opportunity to achieve a better standard of living elsewhere, which usually means the major urban centres of Java and, more rarely, the Outer Islands.

### 2.1.2.3 Social life

For most people in Pasuruan, as elsewhere in Indonesia, the family and the household serve as the major centres of social life. This is especially true since the concept of the family comprises anybody who is even distantly related,

and if these live in town, chances are that they interact a great deal with the actual inhabitants of the household. The household itself is also a place for social activities. Almost all households have one or more members who are not relatives, such as live-in employees and servants. Friends drop in to pass the time of day, share a meal or help in the preparation of one. Neighbours' children often spend a lot of time in one's household, if they like to and if it is acceptable to most of its members.

Equally important, except for upper-class households, whose members tend to interact more with those of the same class, is the neighbourhood, where more than superficial contacts occur. Youths hang about in groups at the entrance to their alley or spend time together carrying on some religious activity (learning how to read the Qur'ān in the case of Muslims or taking part in a prayer meeting in the case of Christians) either in someone's house or at the appropriate public place of worship. Men and women take part in *arisan* as a means of saving money as well as exchanging the latest rumours and socialising in general.

Beyond the neighbourhood, children meet each other a great deal in school and afterwards, and in this way friendships form. Similarly, adults tend to form friendships and more intimate relationships at work places, places of worship, ward communal halls and so forth.

In addition to the socialisation that children are exposed to in the family and the neighbourhood, in Pasuruan the majority of elementary-school-age children are in school.<sup>7</sup> There are different kinds of schools in town. Most schools teach general subjects on the elementary, junior high school and senior high school levels. It should be noted that the number of junior and senior high schools is significantly smaller than that of elementary schools (there are 15 general-subjects junior high schools and nine general-subjects senior high schools in comparison to 56 elementary schools), which indicates a considerable drop-out rate after elementary school. There are also schools teaching more specialised subjects, such as religion (to train the students to become teachers of Islam in the secular schools), technical skills, economics and teacher-training (to train elementary school teachers). There are two of these schools on the junior high school level, and ten on the senior high school level. Most schools are state-run or state-subsidised, but a few are run by private organisations, both secular and religious. In addition to these secular schools, there are six small *pesan-trèn* (Islamic religious schools) in different parts of town (total number of students in February 1982: 465).

Four small private universities have a branch in the town, offering higher education in law, economics, engineering and education. In most cases, however, when a family can afford to send their children to Malang or Surabaya, they do so after the children finish junior high school. For serious higher education, many students aim at enrolling in the prestigious universities in Java's urban centres or in Bali.

Besides socialising in school, many children and youths join the scouts, although groups tend to form in individual schools and chances to meet with other groups are rare. Sports activities also offer opportunities to socialise. Favourite sports include soccer, badminton, volleyball and basketball. Some people go swimming at Banyubiru, a natural pool about 17 km from town, usually in groups. Women also meet in the *Pendidikan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* (P.K.K. [Family Welfare Education]) groups formed in many wards. Besides learning basic home economic skills, they tend to use the opportunity to socialise with their distant neighbours.



The municipality and the regency share a jail located in town. In 1981 there were 464 inmates in it, 413 men and 56 women. To give us an idea of the most common crimes committed and to which convictions are handed down in the area, the jail statistics tell us that 203 of the convicts (200 men and three women) were in jail for theft, 41 (40 men and one woman) for assault and battery, 39 (all men) for gambling, 28 (25 men and three women) for homicide, 27 (25 men and two women) and the rest for a number of crimes ranging from robbery to arson to forgery of documents. Unfortunately, no data on the ethnicity of inmates are available.

In Pasuruan there is no government-approved prostitution complex such as one finds in most towns in Java, so that no official statistics are available on prostitution. Instead, at certain street corners one finds prostitutes standing about round a coffee stall or something of the like, with usually a crowd of men also there, to patronise the women. People of means go up to the mountains, to Tretes, one of the prostitution resorts of East Java. Among the prostitutes one finds women of all ethnic backgrounds, although among Chinese men there is a tendency to hire non-Chinese prostitutes.

Finally, I should mention the health services available to Pasuruaners. The town is served by a general hospital with a capacity of 130 in-patients, which also serves inhabitants of the regency. As such, it is far from adequate; people who can afford to pay go to Malang or Surabaya to better hospitals. The hospital also provides out-patient services at its polyclinic. The town also has two *Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat* (*Puskesmas* 'Community Health Centres'). These provide low-cost medical treatment on an out-patient basis. There is also a private polyclinic at the Chinese temple. The physicians and dentists in town are all government employees, but in the evening they open their own practice, which usually costs people considerably more. There is a lung specialist and an internist in Pasuruan; to be treated by other specialists, people have to go to Malang or Surabaya, or sometimes even as far as Jakarta. The state planned-parenthood agency has a branch in town, which actively promotes different methods of birth control in conjunction with the national plan to reduce the nation's birth rate. The Indonesian Red Cross also maintains a presence in town, mostly giving first-aid training sessions, getting blood donors and helping the authorities during public festivities.

As regards contacts with the outside world, Pasuruaners can easily go to Surabaya and Malang by inexpensive public transportation, since the northern Java highway and railway running from the west to the east pass through the town, and a good highway connects it with Malang. Thus, whereas for travellers Pasuruan is just another town to pass through when travelling to or from Surabaya or Malang, for its inhabitants the vicinity of the two urban centres offers diverse opportunities in education, recreation, and contacts with the outside world in general. It is served by the postal and telegraph service, and is part of the direct-dial long-distance telephone network which links it with most of Indonesia's major cities and the world beyond.

Most people own a portable radio set and can tune in to the central and provincial government stations as well as a number of local commercial stations, mostly for entertainment. A few educated people listen to foreign stations broadcasting in Indonesian, and even fewer listen to broadcasts in a foreign language, usually English, Dutch or Mandarin Chinese. It seems that only people who work for the government listen to the government stations; other people who want to hear the news tune in to a foreign radio station, usually Radio Australia, which many people think gives more objective coverage on current events, especially those in Indonesia itself.



One can get good television reception anywhere in town, and many people watch the various programs offered on the only state-run channel, including news and sports, which become interesting topics of conversation for many people of all ages. Whereas it is impossible to get figures on the number of radio sets owned by the town's inhabitants, we can be more certain about the number of television sets. According to 1981 statistics provided by the Post Office, which registers and levies the tax on television sets, as many as 90% of all households in town own one. At any rate, it seems that people consider television more interesting if only because they can see images on the screen. News broadcasts on television are more uniformly popular, unlike those on the radio.

One can also get national and provincial newspapers and magazines on the day of publication either by subscribing, or by buying them at the small number of newsstands in town. There are three movie theatres in town, as well as a number of video-cassette rental outlets with a fairly large clientele.

#### 2.1.2.4 Cultural life

The Pasuruan area is known in the Javanese world as a *pasisir* (coastal, frontier) area, as opposed to the *negari* (lit. 'country, state') area immediately surrounding the principalities of Surakarta and Yogyakarta in Central Java. It is characterised by a trading culture tied with a less syncretist, more orthodox variety of Islam, generally known in Javanese culture as the *santri* variety.<sup>8</sup> This is not to say that the more syncretist, less orthodox *abangan* variety does not exist in the Pasuruan area. In fact, the two varieties exist side by side, but the *santri* variety is predominantly stronger than in other areas, especially in the *negari*. It is thus no accident that politically the area is among the few in Indonesia where the Muslim United Development Party (and before the 1977 elections its predominant element, the Nahdatul Ulama) has always managed to get the majority of votes in general elections.

Most Pasuruaners would tell you they are Muslims, and indeed statistically speaking, 86,502 (94%) claimed they were Muslims in the 1980 Census. Since in Indonesia belonging to an organised religion is a must, the Census also registered 1,656 Catholics (1.79%), 2,092 other Christians (2.27%), 173 Hindus (.18%) and 1,587 Buddhists (1.76%).<sup>9</sup> Most of the Buddhists seemed to be ethnic Chinese who worshipped at the Chinese temple.

Perhaps equally important is the fact that people in *pasisir* culture tend to be more egalitarian and less concerned with complicated etiquette, while people in the *negari*, due to their traditional vicinity to the centres of Javanese aristocratic power, tend to be more class-conscious and concerned with etiquette. *Negari* people see those in the *pasisir* as more *kasar* (crass) and blunt. On the other hand, *pasisir* people see those in the *negari* as being effete and too preoccupied with not being straightforward to the point of being devious at times. This attitude has its roots in the history of the Pasuruan area as a frontier area when the *negari* was becoming the centre of Javanese aristocratic power (see above).

Pasuruan shows even stronger *santri* and *pasisir* characteristics in comparison to other *pasisir* towns because of the presence of a sizeable Madurese minority (ca. 20%), mostly people of the lower class. They mostly live in their own quarters in the northern part of town, earning a living from fishery - catching or cultivating fish and trading them in the marketplaces. There is also a small Buginese community, living on their boats in the harbour as well as in the harbourside quarter. The presence of the Army Engineers Battalion brings in

people from other Indonesian ethnic groups, and part of the professional community in town are also from different ethnic groups. Finally, there are the so-called minorities of alien origin (*keturunan asing*) - Chinese, Arabs and Indians, a great majority of whom engage in commerce in the marketplaces and business districts. Most people who run a store in the business districts live in the back part of their store. The Chinese outnumber the other groups here. In fact, all of the buildings in the business districts and immediately around them are characterised by the typical sloping Chinese roofs. The main business district is still called *Pecinan* (Chinese Quarter) by many native Pasuruaners. Most Arabs live in the quarter behind the Grand Mosque and a bit further to the west, in a quarter called *Kauman* (the Community).

Residential patterns are not the only thing functioning along ethnic lines: occupation patterns also tend to differ in similar ways; government and Armed Forces people are mostly Javanese or of another indigenous Indonesian ethnic group, and so are the manual labourers. Professionals are the most heterogeneous group in this sense. People who engage in fishery tend to be Madurese, although some Madurese are also farmers and cattle merchants. Other farmers are Javanese, and many of the traders in the marketplaces and the itinerant vendors and hawkers are Javanese and Madurese. As mentioned above, most stores and industries are owned and run by the alien minority, with the Chinese being predominant in number. The less wealthy of these people tend to work for the wealthier ones, or work as small-scale entrepreneurs. We can see, then, how in some ways ethnicity is tied in with socioeconomic class (I will elaborate on this when discussing the Chinese community itself).

Ethnicity and religion significantly determine even where one is buried. Although there is a Christian cemetery in Pasuruan, a Chinese Christian is usually buried at the Chinese cemetery at Temenggungan, a few kilometres south of the town. The rest of the people are buried in the Muslim cemeteries in different parts of town. People are aware of ethnicity, class and religion, and these categories are very often used to describe people, neighbourhoods, the schools children go to and so on.

Some people engage in artistic activities in conjunction with formal education: they paint, play music, dance or act. There are also teachers who give lessons in these arts privately. Most people, however, see the arts as part of recreational activities. They listen to different kinds of music, traditional and modern, Indonesian and foreign, on the radio or on cassette tapes, and watch performances on television. Folk theatre such as the *ludruk* is quite popular, although there are no regular performances as there are in the big cities, but at least recorded performances can be heard on the radio, and fragments are shown on television from Surabaya. The big event for Pasuruaners is the Independence Day Fair held annually in the town square: in addition to government propaganda stalls and commercial stalls, there are a number of stages with different performances. The Fair is held for two or three weeks, and people from other districts in the regency also come into town in their best clothes, especially at the weekends. Also the *Riyoyo*, the feast marking the end of the fasting month, is a big event for most people. There are live performances of well-known musical troupes at the swimming pool in Banyubiru. For a couple of weeks or so before the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad (the feast called *Muludan*), a certain section of Jalan Nusantara is closed off to vehicles, and traders and quacks of all kinds display their wares on the pavement. In general, taking a walk and window-shopping are very popular activities every day, especially in the evening.

People also go to see films at the three theatres in town. One can see Indonesian, Chinese (Hong Kong and Taiwan), Indian, Western and Japanese films,

with the number of films shown going down in that order. Indian films are popular among lower class people, while Indonesian films seem to be uniformly popular, as are films of violence, whatever their origin. Sentimental Chinese films, however, are only popular among the ethnic Chinese, and then mostly only among those who understand Mandarin. Those who can afford to own a video-cassette player (and their neighbours) watch different films and musical shows on video. The cassettes can be rented at the various rental places for a small fee, and some of the more aggressive of these even send their employees to customers to offer new titles and to pick up ones that have been screened. There is as wide a variety as there is in the films shown in town, if not more, except that no Indian films seem to be available on video-cassette. As I mentioned earlier, the state-run television programs are also quite popular, with musical shows and plays being the most frequently watched. Early-evening children's programs, including Walt Disney cartoons, are also watched by children and adults.

Finally, I should mention the various lending libraries one can find in different neighbourhoods. Some libraries also have popular teen-idol magazines and comic books, although the latter sometimes retell old Javanese epics and legends as well. At one time Chinese books were also available at a few Chinese-run libraries, but when I was doing my research, Chinese books were no longer available.

## 2.2 THE CHINESE OF PASURUAN

In discussing the identity component of the present work, I will concentrate on the community life of the Chinese of Pasuruan. There are two provisos that I would like to make clear at this point. Firstly, I will not go into a detailed discussion of the Chinese of Java or Indonesia, mostly because they have been discussed in a number of works.<sup>10</sup> I will, however, mention historical and contemporary factors that have a bearing upon the condition of the Chinese of Pasuruan at the time when I was conducting my field research, since I believe that without such explanation one may not obtain a thorough understanding of the community. Secondly, I will postpone any discussion of language until the appropriate chapters. I will make reference to the relevant parts of those chapters when language must be mentioned.

So, I will begin by discussing the demography of the Chinese of Pasuruan, and then proceed to discuss how they identify themselves as Chinese and how the non-Chinese identify them. I will then discuss the different subgroup identities in the community, both in terms of cultural identity and socioeconomic class identity. Once these have been made clear, it is easier to discuss other aspects of community life, such as the politics, economy and social and cultural life in the community which, as we shall see later, revolve around the different sub-categories in the community. Finally, I will discuss relations with non-Chinese in town, especially the Javanese majority, although I will also touch upon the question of Chinese relations with Madurese and Arabs. In discussing these interethnic relations, I will emphasise the different attitudes the various groups have towards one another.

### 2.2.1 Demography

No reliable figures are available on the different ethnic groups in Indonesia. The emphasis on national unity has always discouraged the authorities

from conducting, for example, a census with a question concerning one's ethnicity. As a result, we have to rely on less satisfactory figures. The Central Bureau of Statistics, for example, published statistics on the Chinese population of Java and Madura for the end of 1977 and 1978, based on population registration conducted by ward chiefs (Biro Pusat Statistik 1980), with an apologetic note at the beginning concerning the possible inaccuracy of the figures. According to these statistics, at the end of 1978 there were 5,018 people who were registered as Chinese in the municipality of Pasuruan, forming 5.7% of the total population (then calculated to be 88,387).<sup>11</sup> Thus, assuming that the percentage of Chinese in the municipality of Pasuruan remained constant, and accounting for a 1.49% rate of population growth in general (which is the rate for 1971-1980 for East Java Province; cf. Biro Pusat Statistik, *Statistik Indonesia*), there were approximately 5,500 Chinese in Pasuruan at the time I began field research in the middle of 1982.<sup>12</sup>

## 2.2.2 Chinese identity

As I mentioned earlier in the introductory chapter, one reliable criterion to use in identifying who is Chinese in a small Indonesian town like Pasuruan is social identification. In this way, someone is considered Chinese if s/he considers him/herself Chinese, if other Chinese consider him/her Chinese, or if other people consider him/her Chinese. As I mentioned in Section 1.1, there is always the possibility of individuals who are identified by others, Chinese and non-Chinese alike, as Chinese, but do not identify themselves as such, or the other way around. On the one hand, there are some highly educated, usually Peranakan, Chinese, mostly in the major cities, who deliberately refuse to be identified as Chinese, preferring a (non-ethnic) Indonesian identity instead. On the other hand, one can think of lower-class Chinese who live amongst indigenous neighbours, who probably intermarry with the latter quite frequently. In the case of the former, most Chinese resent their denial of a Chinese identity. It is thus an instance where others identify them as Chinese even though they themselves do not. In the latter case, however, from my observations these people, although they have lived amongst and intermarried with indigenous people for generations, still identify themselves as Chinese, despite the fact that others do not.

### 2.2.2.1 Self-identification

One reflex of social identification is the use of certain names for the group of people considered Chinese. Although many Chinese, especially those who are Indonesian citizens, formally consider themselves Indonesian (*orang Indonesia* [lit. *Indonesian people*] or *bangsa Indonesia* [lit. *Indonesian nation*]), at the same time they consider themselves to belong to another category referred to by different terms.

When speaking Malay/Indonesian in an informal situation or where politeness is not relevant, and within their own circles, the Chinese would refer to themselves as /*orang (bangsa) cina*/ (lit. *Chinese people [nation]*) or just /*cina*/. This term is comparable to the term *faggot* as it is used by English-speaking homosexual men among themselves. In other words, the term /*cina*/ is used as a neutral in-group term, but many Chinese consider it derogatory when used by the non-Chinese. However, many Chinese, especially the Peranakan, use it in a self-deprecatory meaning, such as when they refer to selfish competitiveness, for

example, which many Peranakan see as a negative Chinese trait. Thus, referring to such a person who is Chinese, they would say something like /*dasar cina*/ *No wonder, he's a Chink!*

When speaking Javanese, Chinese refer to themselves as /*wong cino*/ *Chinese people* or just /*cino*/. Interjected with a jeering tone, this term is an insult, but otherwise it is a neutral descriptive term. It should be pointed out that the term /*tyong wha*/ (q.v. below) is not used in Javanese.

Sometimes the Hokkien-originated term /*teng lang*/ (/tng lang/ 唐人 [lit. *Tang people*]) is used, especially when emphasising in-group solidarity. Those who know Mandarin would use the Mandarin-originated term /*cóng kwoq rhen*/ (Zhongguo ren 中國人 *Chinese people*). This term also bears the connotation of in-group solidarity. Different from /*orang (bangsa) cina*/ or /*cina*/, these terms have no self-deprecatory connotation. Those who know Dutch use the Dutch-originated term /*syinéés*/ (Chinese *Chinese*) and its plural form /*syinéésen*/ (Chinese *Chinese*). These terms seem to be plain terms of reference, without connoting in-group solidarity like the Hokkien- and Mandarin-originated terms.

When speaking formally, politely or in public, Chinese refer to themselves as /*orang (bangsa) tyong wha*/ *Chinese people (nation)* or just /*tyong wha*/, the attribute /*tyong wha*/ being of Hokkien provenience (/t'iong hua/ 中華). I should mention here that since 1967 the term *Cina China, Chinese* has been officially decreed to replace *Tionggok* (from Hokkien /t'iong kok/ 中國 *China*) and *Tionghoa* (cf. Coppel and Suryadinata 1978).<sup>13</sup> Interestingly, some educated Chinese use the English-originated term /*caynis*/ (Chinese) as well. I tend to think that this usage has come about as a result of the discomfort of using /*cina*/ in public, since it is too informal and self-deprecatory, or the avoidance of using /*tyong wha*/, since it has been officially abolished and to use it would mean defying the government's decree and asserting one's pride in being Chinese.<sup>14</sup>

Interestingly, since ethnic Chinese are constantly requested to produce proof of citizenship almost every time they have to deal with bureaucracy of any kind, the acronym *W.N.I.* (/whé èn i/), which stands for *warga negara Indonesia Indonesian citizen*, is used exclusively in everyday speech to refer to Indonesian citizens of Chinese descent. (The opposite of *W.N.I.* is *W.N.A.* /whé èn a/, which stands for *warga negara asing alien citizen*. Again, this term is almost exclusively used to refer to alien Chinese; other aliens are referred to by the expression *orang asing alien people*.) Only in very careful speaking or writing do people add the attribute 'of Chinese descent' (*keturunan Cina*) after *W.N.I.* Thus, many Indonesian citizens of Chinese descent would refer to themselves as /whé èn i/ when talking about dealing with a bureaucracy. For example, it may be used in complaining about how difficult it is to enrol in a state university when one is Chinese:

- (1) skarang angèl lhó, whé-èn-i masóq unifèrsitas negri.  
 /now hard you-know, Indonesian-citizen enter university state/  
*It's hard for a Chinese to enrol in a state university these days, you know.*

Since the mid-1970s the terms *nonpribumi* (Indonesian for *non-indigenous*) and *pribumi* (*indigenous*) as well as their abbreviations, *nonpri* and *pri*, have come into common usage to refer to Chinese and indigenous Indonesians respectively. Thus, nowadays many Chinese refer to themselves as *nonpri*. The opposition *pribumi* <-> *nonpribumi* was especially used in the context of the government's attempts to reduce the domination by ethnic Chinese in the distribution sector of Indonesian economy, namely by allocating the distribution rights of certain staple merchandise and giving special credit assistance to "indigenous" Indonesians.

Some members of the government have felt increasingly squeamish about the racist connotation of the economic policy, and have instead suggested the use of a criterion based on the opposition *ekonomi kuat strong economy* <-> *ekonomi lemah weak economy*. However, this was quickly interpreted by many people, both non-Chinese and Chinese, to mean Chinese <-> indigenous Indonesians again in no time at all. Significantly, however, the term *ekonomi kuat* is never used by Chinese to refer to themselves. For them to use it would mean acquiescing to the stereotype (and for many the reality) that Chinese are economically dominant. More importantly perhaps, in the Chinese community wealth in itself is not a source of identity.

### 2.2.2.2 Identifying others

Chinese see themselves as different from other ethnic groups in the society. As stated earlier, many Chinese would agree that they are Indonesians. However, all but a very few educated Chinese refer to indigenous Indonesians as /orang éndónésya/ *Indonesian people*. Thus, the attribute /éndónésya/ is seen as referring to a larger category of citizenship or nationality as well as a smaller category of ethnicity. It is this latter ethnic category that Chinese do not feel they belong to, as shown by their perhaps unconscious use of /orang éndónésya/ to refer to indigenous Indonesians only to the use of the old term *Inlander* (a colonial category for *indigenous people*), which in the 1930s was replaced by the term *Indonesiër*, used by pseudo-liberal Peranakan Chinese, perhaps with as much condescension and contempt as the older term.

In official parlance, the different indigenous ethnic groups of Indonesia are referred to as /suku/ *tribe, ethnic group* or /suku bangsa/ *tribe, ethnic group*. Although in the early 1960s there was an effort, largely on the part of the Baperki (Badan Permusyawaratan Kewarganegaraan Indonesia 'Consultative Body for Indonesian Citizenship'),<sup>15</sup> for Chinese to be accepted as a /suku/ in their own right, called the suku kebudayaan Tionghoa *Chinese culture tribe*, the idea quickly went underground with the suppression of the Baperki and the left wing in general. It is of course understandable that the idea has constantly been associated with the Baperki and left-wing thinking in general, and as such not many people are willing to be seen to be supportive of it.

The Chinese view that they are in a way not "Indonesian" is confirmed by their use of terms of Mandarin and Dutch provenience, when referring to indigenous Indonesians. Chinese who know Mandarin use the term /i no rhen/ (Yinni ren 印尼人 [lit. *Indonesian people*]) to refer to indigenous Indonesians (i.e. in opposition to /cóng kwoq rhen/, q.v. above), while those who know Dutch use the term /éndónéésyers/ (*Indonesiërs*) (i.e. in opposition to /syinéésen/ [*Chinezen*]).

To refer to indigenous Indonesians derogatorily, all but the most liberal Chinese use the Hokkien-originated term /whana/ (/huan-a/ 番仔 *foreigner, barbarian, native*). Again one can trace this usage to the use of the old term *Inlander* (q.v. above) during colonial times. In Pasuruan, this term is specifically used with reference to ethnic Javanese, although the more neutral terms /orang jawa/ *Javanese people* or just /jawa/ *Javanese* in Malay/Indonesian and /wong jowo/ *Javanese people* or just /jowo/ *Javanese* in Javanese are also commonly used. Chinese who know Dutch also use the term of Dutch provenience /yhefæns/ (Javaans) *Javanese*.

When referring specifically to Madurese, many Chinese sometimes use the Hokkien-originated term /kwé su/ (/kue su/ 泗水).<sup>16</sup> This term is not at all derogatory in the way that /whana/ is.<sup>17</sup> The Malay/Indonesian term /orang medura/



*Madurese people* or just /medura/ *Madurese* and the Javanese term /wong meduro/ *Madurese people* or just /meduro/ *Madurese* are also used neutrally. Chinese who know Dutch refer to Madurese as /madurées/ (Madoerees).

Chinese refer to ethnic Arabs, the other sizeable alien minority in town, by using different terms. The Hokkien-originated term /swa ceng/ (/sua ceng/ 沙中) is usually used derogatorily. More neutrally, Arabs are referred to as /orang arap/ or just /arap/ *Arab people* or *Arabs* in Malay/Indonesian, as /wong arap/ or just /arap/ *Arab people* or *Arabs* in Javanese, and as /arabiiren/ (Arabieren) *Arabs* in Dutch. The few ethnic Indians in town are referred to as /mbongmbai/ *Bombay*, whence some, of course, must have originated.

Finally, I should mention the few Eurasians in town, whom the Chinese refer to as /orang éndó/ (from /éndó-blanda/ *Indo-Dutch*) *Eurasian people* or just /éndó/ *Eurasians* in Malay/Indonesian, as /wong éndó/ *Eurasian people* or just /éndó/ in Javanese, and as /éndis/ (Indisch) *Eurasian* in Dutch.

### 2.2.2.3 Chinese as identified by others

Let us now shift our attention to how Chinese are perceived by other people; let us look into the different terms used to refer to Chinese. In Javanese, Chinese are known as /wong cino/ or /cino/ in Ngókó (Low) Javanese and /tiang cinten/ *Chinese people* or /cinten/ *Chinese* in Kromo (High) Javanese. The word /cino/ itself is a neutral term of reference, except when used as an epithet, i.e. /cino!/, in which case it means *Chink!* It is important to note that in Javanese the pair /cino/ and /cinten/ refer to a class or status situation, namely that one shows deference when using /cinten/ (by speaking in Kromo), but does not do so when using /cino/ (by speaking in Ngókó). In Madurese, Chinese are known as /orèng cèna/ *Chinese people* or /cèna/ *Chinese*.

In Malay/Indonesian, Chinese are referred to as /orang cina/ or /cina/ and /orang tyong wha/ or /tyong wha/ (the /tyong wha/ often pronounced [tiang hoa], a spelling pronunciation, by people with little intimate contacts with Chinese). The term /cina/ is considered derogatory by many Chinese, especially older people and those who still feel strongly proud about their Chinese identity, and many non-Chinese know this. However, as a result of the 1967 government decree replacing Tionghoa with Cina mentioned above, many younger people now use /cina/ as a neutral term. Older people, however, and those who know the derogatory connotation of /cina/, avoid using it in the presence of Chinese. Instead, they use /tyong wha/, or use a number of other terms, such as the Dutch-originated /syinéés/, the English-originated /caynis/ (sometimes pronounced [caynes]) or even round-about terms such as /yang namaña bersuku tiga/ *those whose name consists of three syllables*. When no Chinese are present, people are comfortable about using /cina/; it is when Chinese are known to be present or when people are speaking to those whom they know as identifying themselves as Chinese, that people use the different avoidance terms. It should be pointed out here that in Malay/Indonesian, /cina/ does not, as in the case of /cino/ and /cinten/ in Javanese mentioned earlier, refer to class or status, but to a race idea. One can note how /cinten/ is not as marked as /tyong wha/, or in other words can be used more or less neutrally, unlike /tyong wha/, which is loaded with different connotations.

Arabs have their own term to refer to Chinese, namely /baqudè/, which is from Arabic. This term is considered derogatory by Chinese, apparently because of the way it is used by Arab children and youths to taunt Chinese, but some of

my Arab informants told me that the term is neutral in Arabic, although others also told me that since it refers to Chinese with pigtails or bound feet, it is potentially opprobrious.

#### 2.2.2.4 What makes one Chinese?

One question that interested me when I was conducting field research was how people identify someone as belonging to the category of people known by the above-mentioned terms for Chinese, both by those who identify themselves as Chinese and by others. As a rule, the inhabitants of a small town like Pasuruan more or less know who is Chinese and who is not, who is Javanese and who is not, and so forth, especially in their own neighbourhoods. Once this is established, the label usually stays for life. It raises an interesting question when, say, a new family moves into a neighbourhood, or someone appears on television: people always try to categorise such persons into ethnic identities that they are familiar with.

Physical features are obviously the first thing people perceive in most cases.<sup>18</sup> Both my Chinese and non-Chinese informants agreed that Chinese have fairer skin (*kulétña lebih kunéng/ their skin is yellower*), slant eyes (*/mataña sipit/ their eyes are slanted*) and straighter hair (*/rambótña lebih lurus/ their hair is straighter*). Obviously these are stereotypes, but an ethnic Javanese, for example, may be termed */ñinani/ to resemble Chinese* when s/he has one or more of those three features. When people are watching television and, say, an unknown singer appears on the screen, and s/he looks vaguely Chinese, they tend to argue whether s/he may actually be Chinese. On the other hand, there are also Chinese who are referred to as */njawani/ to resemble Javanese*, usually when they have the features that are stereotypically Javanese for the community, i.e. darker skin (*/kulétña lebih item/ their skin is blacker, darker*), larger eyes (*/mataña lebih besar/ their eyes are larger*) and wavier hair (*/rambótña lebih ngombaq/ their hair is wavier*). Interestingly, Chinese who have these features tend to be considered lucky by other Chinese, since, as many of my informants said, they are less likely to be discriminated against (except when they have to produce their birth certificate, proof of citizenship and name-change documents) in their day-to-day dealings with non-Chinese. Thus, they said, these people may survive an anti-Chinese riot because the rioters might think they are not Chinese.

Another physical feature of male Chinese is the fact that almost all of them are uncircumcised, the exceptions being converts to Islam and those who have been circumcised for hygienic reasons. Javanese, Madurese and Arab males are almost always circumcised, even when they are not Muslims. In fact, this feature is often used in the Javanese epithet */cino gaq sunat/ uncircumcised Chink!* used by Javanese, Madurese and Arab children and youths when they happen to feel like giving their Chinese neighbours a hard time.

Being Chinese not only means that some or all of one's ancestors came from China in the (remote or recent) past, but equally means that one is raised in a certain cultural tradition. Although the former, genetic, criterion is often used to identify someone as Chinese, it is the latter, culturally determined, criterion that is in the final analysis more decisive in identifying who is Chinese and who is not in the community. This is supported by the fact that there are people in the community who are not genetically Chinese, but through adoption into a Chinese family are considered to be Chinese. For example, I knew and came across some people who had been born out of wedlock to Dutch fathers and Javanese mothers, who had been adopted by childless Totok Chinese couples and



raised as Chinese children. Although these people look physically very different from other Chinese, they are basically regarded as Chinese. Thus, I will now discuss what culturally determined traits make one Chinese. I will limit the discussion to outward appearance; I will discuss other sociocultural features of the Chinese in greater detail only after looking into the sources of diversity among them in Section 2.2.3.

Chinese use a different body language from other people around them. Some Chinese, especially those whose family has been in Indonesia for many generations, greet Chinese they respect (usually older people, but older people also do it to each other) by performing the /pèy/ (Hokkien /pai/ 拜) or /soja/, i.e. they cusp the two hands together, palms down, the right hand over the left, and bring them to the level of the chest or mouth. In fact, for men the higher they lift the hands, the more respect they signify. Non-Chinese greet each other by shaking hands. Some Chinese, through the influence of Westernisation, also shake hands when they meet. The difference lies in the fact that especially *santri* Javanese, Madurese and Arabs place their right hand on their chest right after the handshake. No Chinese do this, unless they have observed the other people do it, and decide to do so as a gesture of assimilation or because they have converted to Islam, but in any case this imitation is rarely seen in Pasuruan.

The use of the left hand for giving things to other people is not so much a taboo among Chinese as it is among Javanese and Madurese. Also, Chinese do not feel uneasy about passing in front of somebody they respect the way Javanese and Madurese do. The latter will invariably bend their body down when passing in front of a person they respect, especially if that person is seated in a fairly low position.

Chinese may also be distinguished by the different ways they dress. No Chinese males in Pasuruan wear the *kopiah* or *songkok*, the black brimless hat worn by many Javanese, Madurese and Arab males. An exception would be the very few Muslim Chinese. In fact, in 1966-1967, when the drive for assimilation was at its height, it was suggested that Chinese males should adopt the habit of wearing a *kopiah*, but the whole thing was probably too culturally alien, and the idea died out quickly.

Most Chinese males feel comfortable wearing shorts in public, or at least while lounging in their house, or being on the porch or in the front yard, if there is one. This habit is considered impolite or at best ridiculous by many Javanese, Madurese and Arabs, especially those of the upper and middle classes. The lower-class males wear shorts themselves but only when they are working, otherwise they do not. Also, older Chinese men, especially the Totok, often wear pyjamas and a singlet, which, as with the shorts, can be considered impolite or ridiculous. On the other hand, no Chinese male would think of wearing a *sarong* except in the privacy of the home, and even then they mostly wear it as something to wrap around the body when in bed. There is no direct explanation for this aversion to wearing a *sarong*, but some of my informants seemed to identify the *sarong* with indigenous people in general, and perhaps because Chinese perceive themselves as different from the indigenous people, they do not wear a *sarong*. Of course younger men of all backgrounds tend to wear pants and a shirt nowadays, so that the distinction in dress has been greatly reduced, but when it comes to the *kopiah*, shorts and sarongs, one can still easily distinguish who is Chinese and who is not.

Chinese women are much more likely to wear their hair short than women from other ethnic groups. The latter are more likely to arrange their relatively long hair to form a bun at the back of the head. A few China-born women wear their hair in a bun, too, but the bun is much smaller than that worn by Javanese,

Madurese and Arab women, and it is their own hair, too, unlike the attached bun that many latter women wear. Chinese women do not wear the veil or kerchief that *santri* Javanese, Madurese and Arab women wear all the time.

Only very few Chinese women, mostly older Peranakan, wear a *sarong* and *kebaya*, the traditional long-sleeved blouse worn by the majority of women in the archipelago. Those who do wear a *sarong* and *kebaya* tend to wear sarongs with distinctly different designs and colour patterns peculiar to the older Chinese communities of the archipelago, and the two split front sides of their *kebaya* are not linked by a piece of cloth in the middle the way Javanese and Madurese *kebaya* are. The *sarong-kebaya* is definitely going out of style among Chinese women; those who still wear it every day are generally older than 60 today. China-born women wear pants and the type of blouse with a short stiff collar buttoned on the side. Otherwise, Chinese women, especially as adults, are more likely to wear a Western dress or skirt and blouse than Javanese women. On the other hand, most Chinese women do not wear the Javanese and Madurese *sarong-kebaya*. Furthermore, Chinese women feel more comfortable about wearing pants, whereas many Javanese, Madurese and Arab women still feel embarrassed about that.

Children are more likely to be uniformly dressed, regardless of ethnic identity. The school uniforms are shorts and a shirt for boys and a skirt and shirt for girls, with the exception that male high-school students wear long pants instead of shorts. In general, it is in their home and as they enter puberty that the different reflexes of ethnic identity in dress become apparent.

#### 2.2.2.5 Attitudes about being Chinese

Despite the pressure to assimilate into Indonesian society,<sup>19</sup> very few of my informants denied that they are Chinese. Many of my Indonesian-educated or Indonesia-oriented informants would intellectually state that they are primarily Indonesian and only secondarily Chinese, and some of them quickly added that, for them, being Chinese is just a reflection of their ancestry and nothing more. A very few highly educated informants argued that they feel they are Indonesian and Chinese in the same way that, say, a Javanese feels s/he is Indonesian and Javanese. Other educated informants wished people could just stop thinking in terms of "racial lines" (*/garés-garés ras/*). They educate their children, for example, to identify themselves as Indonesian, period.

This is easier said than done, however, since many non-Chinese in the community would still identify the children as Chinese, and this might become a traumatic experience for them. One of my informants, a fourth-generation Chinese professional, told me about the experience of one of her daughters in elementary school. One day, for some reason, the class teacher had to obtain statistics about how many ethnic Chinese there were in her class, and simply asked those who were Chinese to raise their hands. My informant's daughter did not do so, since at home she had been taught to identify herself as Indonesian and nothing else. The teacher was puzzled, and said to the girl, "Why didn't you raise your hand? You're Chinese, aren't you?" (*/kok ndaq angkat tangan? kamu kan cina?/*). The other pupils in class looked at the girl, who was very embarrassed and started crying, and later on at home asked her mother why the teacher identified her as Chinese. My informant ended the anecdote with a sigh, "What could Auntie have done?" (*/bisa apa tante?/*).

Many of my less-educated, Chinese-educated or China-oriented informants thought differently. They identified themselves more as Chinese who happened

to be living in Indonesia. As a matter of fact, it is probably fairer to say that they do not think much about their identity within the Republic of Indonesia. They tended to consider it natural that they identified themselves as Chinese. Many of these people even felt some kind of pride in being Chinese, in being in some way part of a nation consisting of one billion people, who had managed to raise China from poverty and foreign domination to sovereignty and respect among the world's powerful nations. These were the people who asked me many questions about /teng lang/ *Chinese people* in North America. "Isn't it true Chinese are not discriminated against in America?" (/betól, yha, teng lang ngéq mhé kwoq sana ndaq dígéskriminasi?/), "They say Chinese students are the best in medicine and engineering; is that true?" (/katané mahaséswa tyong wha paléng pinter ngéq nggoné kedokteran ambéq tehnik; betól ta?/) and many such questions were asked of me, which seems to indicate that they feel one with ethnic Chinese in other parts of the world.

However, when I asked them if they would be willing to repatriate to China, they invariably answered in the negative. Their China orientation, then, should be interpreted only as a purely emotional attitude, which would never be put into action in any practical sense. In fact, they realised that, in any case, they would not be considered genuinely Chinese (/ndaq dianggep cina betól/) by the Chinese People's Republic. They had also heard stories from relatives and friends who repatriated in the early 1960s, about how hard life could be in China, especially during the Cultural Revolution and the years afterwards. It is curious how my informants almost never mentioned the possibility of moving to Taiwan. A few of them, when they did mention it, did so by pointing out that it is, after all, a false China (/tyong kok palsu/). At any rate, they seemed to be resigned to thinking of Indonesia as their permanent home. Some of them, perhaps as a sort of consolation, said that after all Indonesian Chinese were not as badly treated as, say, the Vietnamese Chinese.

All my informants related a sense of being constantly on their guard, of being almost systematically persecuted because of their ethnicity. Many of them expressed their worry about the next riot, or the next anti-Chinese measure taken by the government, and a few even feared that one day they would have to become boat people like the Vietnamese Chinese. Most of them thought this was not fair, although a very few intellectuals tried to rationalise the persecution in terms of the role Chinese played in the colonial economy, namely as middle-men for the Dutch. It is interesting to note that when my informants talked about this persecution, they always whispered, even though no non-Chinese were present. It was as if the powers that be might accidentally overhear them, and things would be even harder for them.

In spite of this sense of persecution, there is nevertheless a sense of pride in being Chinese among all but the very Indonesia-oriented intellectuals and professionals. I already mentioned earlier the sense of pride some China-oriented Chinese related in being part of the great one-billion-strong Chinese nation. My informants also proudly mentioned the Chinese work ethic, the willingness to work hard. They also proudly talked about Chinese resilience: "We always know how to find a way. When one way is closed, we can always find another" (/kita orang ini slalu bisa cari q jalan. dibuntu sini kluar sana/). This attitude often leads to feelings of superiority towards other people in the community, but these will be discussed when we look into ethnic relations in Section 2.2.5.

### 2.2.3 Diversity in the Chinese community

From the discussion of Chinese identity above, one can easily discern that although the Chinese feel they are a single group of people, they are far from being homogeneous, and in fact consist of diverse subcategories. Putting aside the obvious distinctions based on age, generation, gender, occupation and residence, one can subcategorise the Chinese of Pasuruan into two major groups of people, the Peranakan and the Totok.

#### 2.2.3.1 Peranakan and Totok

Actually, the terms *Peranakan* (lit. *hybrid*) and *Totok* (lit. *pure*) themselves are only rarely used by Chinese in Pasuruan when they refer to the different subcategories that they perceive exist in their community.<sup>20</sup> Therefore, before I go into a detailed description of the two subcategories, I will first describe the different terms used to refer to them.

In the community I found the use of two opposite terms, /baba/ and /singkèq/. My Baba<sup>21</sup> informants would describe themselves in terms of their families having been in Indonesia for generation after generation so that they themselves usually would not know which generation they were if traced from the first man that arrived from China. However, they all knew that the Chinese immigrant who was their first ancestor came from Fujian Province in China. They also had some idea about this man marrying a local woman since women did not emigrate to the archipelago then. Some of my more literate informants would show me the genealogy of their families. The longest genealogy I saw started in the year 1750, when the ancestor arrived in the port of Gresik. The shortest Baba genealogy that was shown to me did not mention the date or place of arrival of the ancestor, but I could gather by looking at it that there had been four generations born in Java and Madura. I noted that the oldest member of the second generation born in the Indies was born in 1899, and assuming that his father was, say, 25 years old when he was born, the father may then have been born around 1874. The first ancestor must have come some time around then.

Looking at the recorded history of the area (cf. Section 2.1.1), although Pasuruan was mentioned in the 14th century, it was probably not important enough to have a settlement of Chinese traders like those found in the ports of northern Java, reported in 15th-century Chinese sources (cf. Groeneveldt 1960:40-41, 45, 47-49). Chinese traders probably started to settle down in the area when Pasuruan increased in importance as a Muslim power in the 16th century. Many of these Chinese were themselves Muslim in the early history of Chinese settlements in Java (cf. Groeneveldt 1960:49). However, not unlike other places in Java, perhaps large numbers of Chinese did not settle in the area until the Dutch administered it in the 18th century, first on behalf of Mataram, and later on as their own territory after Mataram ceded it to them (cf. Cator 1936:193). The oldest Baba families in Pasuruan are thus families like the one whose genealogy dates back to 1750.

We know for sure that women did not emigrate from China in considerable numbers until early this century. The Chinese men who came to Java in the early days of immigration until well into the 19th century were natives of Fujian Province (Purcell 1965:387). They intermarried with local women, who were probably either nominal Muslims or non-Muslim slaves from other parts of the archipelago, since strict Muslim women would not marry a Chinese infidel unless he converted first. As I said earlier, though, some Chinese did convert to Islam

or, very early on, were Muslims themselves (cf. Budiman 1979, *passim*). The 18th-century Chinese tutor Ong Tae Hae 王大海, writing in 1791, mentioned how Chinese settlers in Java frequently "do not scruple to become Javanese, when they call themselves Islam (墨兒 Sit-lam)" (Ong 1849:33). Indeed until the first quarter of the 19th century Chinese Muslims in Batavia were placed under a separate Captain. The last one, a certain Kapitan Abdul Jafar, died in 1827 (Onghokham 1982:278, citing de Haan 1935:511). Apparently these Chinese Muslims were absorbed into the indigenous Muslim community.

At any rate, the culture that developed from these intermarriages between Chinese men and local women resulted in the development of a distinct culture with both Chinese and local elements, but also with innovative additions. By the 18th century this culture had stabilised in Java (Skinner 1963:104). This is the culture of the Baba.

Before we go into a discussion of the characteristics of the Baba, let us first look into the group of people whom the Baba call *Singkèq*. Etymologically, the term is derived from the Hokkien words /sin/ 新 *new* and /k'eq/ 客 *guest*. It was probably used very early on to refer to those who had just arrived from China, but since the turn of this century it has acquired a different meaning, referring to those who arrived around that time and their descendants. The Baba regard these people as fellow Chinese, but admit that they are purer Chinese, in the sense that both genetically and culturally they are closer to China. It is when this purity is emphasised that the term /totoq/ or /totok syinéésen/ is used by the Baba to refer to them. The first people to have used the term /totoq/ or /totok/ seemed to be the Dutch, who used it to refer to pure-blooded Dutch people as opposed to the mestizos in colonial days. It was probably this usage that was taken over by the Chinese to refer to people who were pure-blooded Chinese as /totoq/.

Some of my *Singkèq*<sup>22</sup> informants were born in China. The oldest of these people were in their 80s, and emigrated from China in the 1920s. As a result, in their families there were only two generations born in Java. In other families, the China-born parents, who emigrated in the first and second decades of the century, had died during the previous 20 years or so. The oldest members of these families, who were in their late 60s or early 70s, were born in Java, and there were as many as four generations born locally. A significant feature of the *Singkèq* community is the further subcategorisation into different dialect groups, although the distinction between one group and the others is not as sharp as that between Baba and *Singkèq*. Of the dialect groups represented in significant numbers in Pasuruan are Hokkien, Hokchia (Fuqing), Hokchiu (Fuzhou), Hinghwa (Xinghua), Hakka and Cantonese.

Previously, new arrivals from China had always married into Baba families. As a matter of fact, these China-born men seemed to be preferred as sons-in-law (Ong 1849:9). In that way, the new arrivals had always been absorbed into the Baba community, so that until around the turn of the century, when one talked about the Chinese community in Java, then it invariably meant the Baba. However, a number of different factors then caused the development of a separate, *Singkèq*, sociocultural grouping.

To begin with, the official ban on migration was lifted by the Qing Dynasty government in 1894 (Purcell 1965:436). Together with more readily available and easier sea passages to South-east Asia, this increased the number of Chinese willing and able to emigrate. The annual average number of immigrants into Java and Madura rose from 3,464 during 1900-1903 to 12,172 during 1927-1930. Significantly, for the first time large numbers of women were also able to emigrate.

Furthermore, instead of only Hokkien, the new immigrants consisted of many more people from other dialect groups, the Hakkas, Cantonese, Teochius and so on from south-eastern China. These non-Hokkiens were understandably unfamiliar with the Hokkien-flavoured Baba culture they came across in Java. There was also the rise of Chinese nationalism which made the new arrivals feel alienated from this de-Sinified culture. Finally, as a result of this nationalism and a desire to modernise, there developed a network of Chinese-medium schools and newspapers after 1900, which provided the new immigrants with a convenient means to preserve their Chinese identity (Skinner 1963:105-106, 492 n.10). When the Dutch, in reaction to the rise of Chinese-medium education, created special Dutch-medium schools for Chinese,<sup>23</sup> most Baba families preferred these to the Chinese-medium schools, thereby reinforcing the developing cleavage between themselves and the new immigrants.

The cultural orientation and practices of the Singkèq have not been strongly influenced by local culture or Baba culture. Admittedly, contacts with the indigenous population and with Baba, especially after the 1965 Coup, when Chinese-medium schools were closed down and Baba and Singkèq alike were treated as a single group and pressured to assimilate into Indonesian society, have resulted in a slight de-Sinification of Singkèq culture, but for all intents and purposes it still reflects a great deal of Chinese culture.

When I asked the people identified by the Baba as Singkèq, they, interestingly enough, had no term for themselves but did have a term for the Baba, /jyow sen/ (from Mandarin qiao sheng 侨生 *overseas born*), thus identifying them as a separate subgroup within the Chinese community. The category Jyow Sen basically agrees with that referred to as Baba. The China-born immigrants use the term /jyow sen/ to refer to all Chinese born outside China. Their descendants, however, would tell me that although that is the original meaning of the term, they would use the term to refer to the Baba. Incidentally, the local-born Singkèq use the term Totok /totoq/ to refer to their China-born elders, thus sticking to the literal meaning of the term. It is interesting, then, that the Singkèq look at themselves as ordinary, unmarked Chinese, in opposition to the Baba, who are Chinese but markedly different in cultural orientation and practices.

Given that both subcategories in the Chinese community in Pasuruan basically agree on the location of the borderline between their own group and the other, I would henceforth use the commonly used terms in the study of the Chinese of Indonesia, *Peranakan* and *Totok*, to refer to the Baba or Jyow Sen and to the Singkèq respectively. It will be with reference to this that I will use the two terms throughout the present work.

### 2.2.3.2 Identifying Peranakan and Totok

While conducting field research, I asked all my informants for self identification as Peranakan or Totok. Almost everybody committed himself (or herself) to one of the two subcategories, the exception being the children of Totok families who had gone through a great deal of Indonesian-medium education or were going through it. These younger people - the oldest were in their late 20s - viewed themselves as having acquired fairly much what they saw as Peranakan cultural orientation and practices, which they invariably attributed to their education. Interestingly, even adults who were born of a mixed Peranakan-Totok marriage tended to commit themselves to one or the other group, depending upon whether they had been raised in a Peranakan or Totok environment, or on which of the parents was dominant in the family. Generally speaking, the father's identity tended to influence the commitment.

Let us now look into the question of how the Peranakan identify both themselves and the Totok, and then, how the Totok identify themselves and the Peranakan. Obviously linguistic criteria were used by my informants to distinguish each other's group, but I will postpone the discussion until the chapters on language (Chapters 3-5). Peranakan are generally aware of the way their culture developed and how it contains elements from the local Indonesian culture. They view the Totok as people whose culture contains more elements from Chinese culture. Most Peranakan admit they do not know how to use chopsticks. When they eat a meal, they use their fingers or a spoon and fork, and eat from a plate. However, they know that Totok use chopsticks and eat from a bowl. Also, many of my Peranakan informants mentioned how Totok eat rice gruel (/bóbór/) for breakfast, while Peranakan do not. A few Peranakan mentioned the way Totok, at least the older people, are dressed simply and only in certain colours: white, black, grey, blue, brown, whereas Peranakan tend to wear more colourful clothes made of fancier materials. Totok tend to be more hard-working, more frugal, and this fact is well-known among many Peranakan, who view themselves as more leisure-oriented and extravagant. Some Peranakan informants praised the egalitarianism of the Totok (see below). They also pointed out the less condescending attitude shown by Totok towards (especially lower-class) indigenous Indonesians. Although to a considerable extent Peranakan have assimilated into local culture, they are the ones who keep a distance from lower-class indigenous Indonesians. To the Peranakan, assimilation should ideally be into the *priyayi*, i.e. the upper crust of Javanese and Madurese communities. This attitude came about since Peranakan society, as it was developing, was subjected to the segregationist policies of the colonial government, especially in the 19th century, whereas Totok society was never really subject to the colonial authorities. Thus, while Peranakan were declared Dutch subjects in 1910, Totok remained Chinese subjects. Peranakan also see themselves as in some ways more conservative than Totok. For example, my informants would point out how Totok underwent the reform that swept China at the turn of the century, whereas Peranakan, by virtue of their relative isolation from developments in China, kept to many prereform beliefs and customs. Totok tend to be more willing to take risks in business, but not so Peranakan.

Peranakan usually think that Totok are crass (/kasar/) because they purportedly clear their throat and spit in public (which Peranakan do not do), speak loudly (/bengaq-bengoq kalóq bicara/ [lit. *they shout when they speak*]), and male shopkeepers tend their store wearing a singlet rather than a shirt. My Peranakan informants neutrally stated that they no longer worship at the Chinese temple. Most of them told me they had not entered the temple for a very long time, and were very ignorant about Chinese religion. They pointed out how Totok still keep an altar in their homes, and practise ancestor worship as well as the worship of different tutelary deities. Peranakan do not keep an altar in their homes any more, a development which appears to have been influenced, at least partly, by a government suggestion to abandon worshipping at family altars and the temple,<sup>24</sup> and partly by a previous tendency to move away from Chinese religion, mostly into different sects of Christianity.<sup>25</sup> My Peranakan informants would quickly add that they still believe in filial piety and respecting elders, but perform this in a different way, such as by visiting their ancestors' graves at New Year's, at the *Qing Ming* 清明 (grave-cleaning) festival, after a wedding or when distant relatives come to visit.

My Totok informants basically agreed with the Peranakan view of Peranakan culture. They usually added that rituals at Peranakan weddings and funerals seem rather colourless to them. Moreover, the Peranakan are seen as having abandoned Chinese culture, the important manifestation of which is Chinese religion. A few of my Totok informants viewed the Peranakan as ambivalent: they



do not orient themselves to China, but they are not completely Indonesian, either. Totok tend to be offended by what they perceive as the haughtiness of the Westernised Peranakan upper class (q.v. below). My Totok informants emphasised how the Totok community is more egalitarian (/sama rata sama rasa/, /ndaq mbèdaq-mbèdaqken/) than the Peranakan community, where there exist a Westernised upper class and a non-Westernised lower class.

It is important to note, however, that most of my informants would add a note of reconciliation after rattling off their respective negative views of the other group. Invariably they would emphasise that, after all, they are all Chinese (/toh sama-sama teng lang-ña/). This is usually the view of many of the younger people I interviewed. It should be noted, however, that this feeling of being all fellow Chinese should not be interpreted as necessarily implying an orientation to China. Both young Peranakan and young Totok are convinced that it is their fate to grow old and die in Indonesia. They only wish the government and indigenous Indonesians would stop questioning their commitment to being Indonesian, for they believe they have already expressed it.

A very few Peranakan tend to blame Totok for the discriminatory measures taken by the government against Chinese in general. They point out how the Peranakan have assimilated to such a great extent into the local Indonesian ethnic group, but because of the Totok's crassness and unscrupulous ways of dealing with government officials and indigenous Indonesians in general, Peranakan also feel the repercussions. On the other hand, a very few Totok deplored what they considered to be a defeatist attitude on the part of the Peranakan as evidenced by their willingness to abandon Chinese culture almost completely in order to assimilate into Indonesian society.

### 2.2.3.3 Class

As I mentioned earlier, the Totok community perceive themselves and are perceived by some Peranakan as egalitarian. This is not to say that there are no rich Totok and poor Totok. The Totok community is egalitarian mostly because they are a group of people who are all trying to move upward on the socioeconomic ladder. Some of the rich Totok still remember the early days of working hard with their relatively poor parents. Thus, being poor is perceived as a temporary stage; everybody hopes to make a fortune in life: as long as one works hard, then s/he is respectable.

The Peranakan community is very different in this respect. There is a distinct cleavage between a small upper class and a large lower class. I should quickly add that hard work is also valued among Peranakan, but other criteria are more important in determining one's status in the community. The most important of these is education. In the development of the Peranakan community, especially towards the end of the 19th century, Western education, first in the form of schools set up by Dutch missionaries and retired civil servants (cf. Tio 1958, passim), and after 1908 in the form of special Dutch-medium schools for the Chinese (cf. Suryadinata 1972:54-56), increasingly became the key to upward mobility towards the ruling class, the Dutch. Therefore, the upper class Peranakan is characterised by its Westernisation, which often includes conversion to Christianity. But education in those days, especially before 1908, was an expensive affair, and since there were not too many schools available, only the wealthy few could send their children to the Dutch-medium schools.

Thus, education was definitely a function of wealth, at least in the early days of formal education for the Chinese. In many ways, then, the role of education for the Indies Chinese communities was not so different from its role for the Mandarin class in China. The present-day upper-class Peranakan are descendants of families who made their fortune especially during the Cultivation System (1830-c.1870) and the heyday of opium farming (c.1860-c.1890) in Java. In Pasuruan, these families became especially wealthy because of the sugar industry (cf. Fasseur 1975:65,70; Rush 1977: Chapter IV). The wealthy Peranakan gradually developed their own ethos and a social system in which the poorer Peranakan depended on them for a livelihood, usually by being petty employees in the former's enterprises.

The collapse of the sugar industry in the 1920s, the worldwide Depression, and the failure of upper-class Peranakan speculation in real estate (especially in East Java) impoverished some of the families and thwarted the upward mobility of the less wealthy families (cf. Onghokham 1982:289). Thus, nowadays class is not a function of present-day wealth, but rather of wealth or an attempt at upward mobility in the past. In Pasuruan one can find poor families with the upper-class ethos of their once social-climbing parents. These will be treated as upper-class in the present work; wherever relevant, they will be referred to as the impoverished upper class.

The present-day lower class are descendants of those families who were at best on the fringes of the Chinese accumulation of wealth mentioned above. They either depended on the wealthier families or looked up to them as people whom they hoped to emulate. In this way, the lower class Peranakan reflects in part the values of the upper-class Peranakan. The major difference is that the lower class has not been Westernised in the same way as the upper class. These people were too poor to send their children to the Dutch-medium schools, so many of the older people in this class did not have as much education as their upper-class contemporaries.

Interestingly, there is not a middle class in the Peranakan community to speak of. At least sociolinguistically, as we shall see later, there is a sharp difference discernible even now between the small upper class and the large lower class. There are obviously families who did not quite make it into the inner circles of the Peranakan elite, mostly because their social climbing (through business enterprises and education) was thwarted by different factors. Whereas economically speaking, these families and lower-class families who have gone up the social ladder can be said to form a kind of middle class, sociolinguistic factors do not warrant such a separate class.

#### 2.2.3.4 Peranakan-Totok relations

The history of Peranakan-Totok relations has been punctuated with frequent conflicts of interest and values. As I mentioned earlier (Section 2.2.3.1), a number of different factors played a role in creating the cleavage between the established Peranakan community and the emerging Totok community. The immigrants who were to form the Totok community encountered a Java Chinese community headed by and centred around a number of Chinese officers.<sup>26</sup> By the time the Totok immigrants came in large numbers, however, the heyday of the government farms was over, to the extent that the new arrivals, unlike the less wealthy Peranakan at a previous time, did not have to depend on the officers and their wealthy cohorts for economic activities. Thus, as early as the 1880s the new immigrants began disobeying the Chinese officers. In 1889, for example, a revolt of Hakka

Totok broke out in Yogyakarta when the city's Chinese captain, Liem Kie Djwan, tried to enforce the pass and residency regulations<sup>27</sup> (Rush 1977:231-232). In short, when the Totok started to arrive in Java, they no longer had an incentive to assimilate to the then already declining Peranakan community (Rush 1977:262-263). Also, as I mentioned in Section 2.3.3.1, the new arrivals were from non-Hokkien dialect groups, whereas the Peranakan came from a Hokkien stock. The Peranakan officers had also become redundant, since they did not generally understand their new Totok subjects. In this way, they did not prove useful to the Dutch, especially since the latter increasingly felt that the officers were no longer needed as intermediaries in their economic activities. The officer system gradually became a ceremonial one, and was finally abolished in 1931 (Liem 1933:1, Onghokham 1982:288-289).

During the aftermath of the Japanese violation of China's neutrality in 1914, and that of Japan's invasion into Manchuria in 1931, the Totok community, in solidarity with their compatriots in China, started a movement to boycott Japanese merchandise. Most Peranakan ignored this movement, and continued trading in Japanese goods. As a result a series of ugly incidents followed. Peranakan store-fronts were painted with tar or human excrement by people employed by Totok merchants (cf. Tan 1920, Siauw 1981:17-18).

Peranakan and Totok also pursued different directions in education. The Chinese-medium schools first established in 1901 by the Chinese nationalist, reformist organisation *Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan* 中华会馆 (founded in 1900) were first supported by Peranakan, but as soon as the Dutch opened a rival Dutch-medium school system, many Peranakan, especially the wealthy, changed allegiance. Gradually, the *Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan* schools were attended by Totok only. This educational cleavage lasted for a fairly long time, until the Japanese occupied the archipelago, when all Dutch-medium schools were closed, and a few Peranakan children transferred to the Chinese-medium schools. But this turned out to be a very brief interlude. When the Japanese left in 1945 and Indonesia declared independence, most Peranakan chose to send their children to what had been private Dutch-medium schools, mostly run by Christian institutions, which after Independence reopened their schools as Indonesian-medium ones.

The Peranakan preoccupation with Dutch education gradually changed their values, and more and more Peranakan youths oriented themselves away from retail trade and into professional careers. By the 1930s it was clear that the Totok were taking over retail trade. The process has continued up to this day, which explains the division in means of livelihood between Peranakan and Totok, which we shall see in Section 2.2.4.2 below (cf. Siauw 1981:49).

At this point it should be mentioned that a few Totok children did go to the Dutch-medium schools, and as a result tended to be both Peranakanised and Westernised. I did not find any of these people in Pasuruan, however. On the other hand, Peranakan children who were not admitted to the Dutch-medium schools, either because of their parents' inability to pay for the tuition or because they did not pass the entrance examination, ended up in the Chinese-medium schools. Also, some Peranakan families underwent a re-Sinification process, becoming more Totok, as a result of the China-oriented nationalist movement.<sup>28</sup> The children of these families and the previously mentioned children formed a subcategory in the Peranakan community which nowadays tends to be closer to Totok values in their thinking, less Westernised, and economically still involved in retail trade instead of being in the professional world.

Indonesian independence brought another change. Although many Totok children and some Peranakan (especially of the subcategory just mentioned) continued to attend the Chinese-medium schools, a few Totok children and the majority of

Peranakan children went to Indonesian-medium schools. A significant transition took place when the government decided to close all Chinese-medium schools after 1965.<sup>29</sup> Although some Totok children stopped going to school and decided to concentrate on their families' business, many others moved to Indonesian-medium schools, or some of the Chinese-medium schools were hastily converted into Indonesian-medium ones.

The question of citizenship has also been a significant factor in Peranakan-Totok relations. The nationality status of the Chinese of Indonesia changed several times between Independence and 1960. Under the Dutch, Indies-born Chinese held dual nationality. In 1909 the Qing Dynasty government issued a law that made all Indies Chinese nationals. In reaction to this, the Dutch colonial government quickly issued a law in 1910 that made Indies-born Chinese Dutch subjects (Suryadinata 1978c:119).

After Independence, by virtue of a Citizenship Act promulgated in 1946 by the government of the Republic of Indonesia, Chinese in Republican territories would become Indonesian citizens automatically if they had resided in Indonesian territory for five continuous years, unless they rejected Indonesian citizenship in favour of the citizenship of another country. This principle was reiterated at the 1949 Round Table Conference between the Netherlands and Indonesia. Indonesia-born Chinese were given a two-year period (27 December 1949-27 December 1951) to reject Indonesian citizenship in the event that they intended to remain aliens (Suryadinata 1978c:113-114).

This brought Peranakan and Totok into conflict. A great number of Peranakan did not reject Indonesian citizenship, but most Totok, who still freshly remembered their precarious existence at the mercy of Indonesian authorities, who were China-oriented and were still euphoric after the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic, opted to reject Indonesian citizenship in favour of being citizens of the new China (cf. Twang 1979). Totok looked at Peranakan as traitors - they called the latter's act /njip whan/ (Hokkien /jip huan/ 入番 [lit. to become foreign, barbarian, native]).

In 1955 the Chinese People's Republic and Indonesia signed the Dual Nationality Treaty, which

... stated that adults having dual nationality of the contracting countries would be given a period of two years in which to choose the citizenship of one or the other. Persons of dual nationality who neglected to choose one citizenship within a two-year option period would acquire only Chinese nationality. Those of dual nationality who were under 18 years of age would have to choose their citizenship one year after their 18th birthday or their marriage. Before choosing, they would be considered to have only the nationality of their fathers.

(Suryadinata 1978c:120)

The treaty was ratified by the parliaments of the two signatory countries in 1957, and in Indonesia it became law in 1960. In this way,

... [e]very person who was a dual national (read: Indonesian citizen of Chinese descent prior to January 20, 1960) had to reject Chinese citizenship during the option period (January 20, 1960-January 20, 1962); otherwise, the person would automatically lose his or her Indonesian citizenship.

(Suryadinata 1978c:121-122)

Once again, Peranakan and Totok were at odds, although this time more Totok seemed to opt for Indonesian nationality than before. However, after 1962, there was still a sizeable number of Chinese who were aliens.<sup>30</sup>

In 1967, when Indonesia froze diplomatic relations with the People's Republic, the New Order government also froze the continued implementation of the Dual Nationality Treaty. In 1969 Parliament even renounced the treaty (Suryadinata 1978c:124-125). Thus, alien Chinese youths who came of age were prevented from applying for Indonesian citizenship under the treaty. They could only do so by being naturalised under the terms of the Indonesian Citizenship Act promulgated in 1960. In practice, however, this turned out to be an excruciatingly lengthy and often very expensive process.

Even after President Suharto issued in early 1980 Presidential Decree No. 13/1980 to simplify the bureaucratic procedure to apply for naturalisation, being naturalised has not been a simple or inexpensive process as one might naively expect from the stipulations of the decree.<sup>31</sup>

Basically, Chinese youths who are not Indonesian citizens have been barred from higher education in Indonesia. The Ministry of Education and Culture does provide a procedure to apply for a special permission from the Minister, but very few alien Chinese youths have done so, and even if they have, the bureaucracy involved has turned out to be extremely laborious and hence very discouraging. These youths will form the most unassimilated section of the Chinese community in Indonesia due to their alienation from the supraethnic modern Indonesian life which is nowadays accessible through education.

The effects of the reunification of Peranakan and Totok educationally after the closing of Chinese-medium schools, have only recently started to show. Until the Japanese came, and between Independence and the closing of Chinese-medium schools, the two communities had very superficial contacts. The fact that for a long time marriages were either arranged or young people were introduced by matchmakers who knew both families, effectively prevented Peranakan-Totok marriages. There were, of course, one or two such marriages, but it was much more the exception than the rule. Even when young people started to get married as a result of romantic courtship, they tended to meet each other in their segregated schools, organisations and so on. However, after 1965 more and more Peranakan and Totok children have gotten to know one another more intimately, although relations between the older generations have not improved much. Peranakan parents sometimes show their displeasure when they realise that their children are becoming close friends with Totok children, but on the whole these attitudes have started to change. More and more Peranakan-Totok marriages and close friendships have formed over the years, and interestingly, the new couples tend to form a family that is increasingly less coloured by the stereotypes of the two subcategories. Open-minded Peranakan and Totok alike now see that since it is definite that both groups will continue to live in Indonesia, and since they are, after all, fellow Chinese, there should no longer be restrictions to marriages between the two subcategories. Nevertheless, there were also a few of my informants who said they would prefer their children to marry someone from the same subcategory, if possible.

The people who had to drop out of school after 1965 are still bitter about their thwarted educational pursuit. These people will probably take a long time to assimilate into both the slowly forming new Chinese community as well as Indonesian society in general. But their children are attending Indonesian-medium schools, and will eventually go through the experiences of the other Chinese mentioned just now.

Thus, I see that the Chinese community appears to be getting close to the reunification that failed to happen either early this century at the peak of Chinese nationalism or under the short Japanese occupation. It remains to be seen how this new community will assimilate into Indonesian society. The more educated people are definitely assimilating into the supraethnic Indonesian society. Assimilation into local ethnic groups does not seem to be happening quite so smoothly. To begin with, nobody ever asked, say, the Javanese, if they would be willing to accept the Chinese as part of their community. In East Java, especially, when Javanese and Madurese communities, after centuries of contact, are still distinctly apart, one tends to ask if it is realistic to expect the Chinese to become completely Javanese.

## 2.2.4 Community life

### 2.2.4.1 Political life

Not unlike Chinese communities elsewhere in Indonesia, the Chinese community in Pasuruan is not organised politically in any way. To begin with, under the New Order no explicitly Chinese organisations have been allowed. Under the Old Order there were already pressures to desegregate exclusively Chinese sports clubs and other social organisations, but one could still find exclusively Chinese benevolent associations, funerary associations; and Baperki was for all intents and purposes a Chinese organisation. Although it tried to include non-Chinese politicians in the leadership, most of them thought the taint of being associated with the Chinese too self-destructive for their political career. As we saw earlier, Baperki was dissolved together with other left-wing organisations and the Indonesian Communist Party; after that most Chinese have been very wary about getting involved in formal politics. Under the New Order even the benevolent associations and funerary associations had to desegregate. Thus, the one in Pasuruan, the Yayasan Budi Dharma (lit. 'Moral Virtue Foundation'), which includes a benevolent association, a funerary association and a sports club, now has a few non-Chinese members and leaders, although the number of Chinese is much more prevalent.

All of my informants expressed their apathy when I asked them about Chinese participation in politics. The Baperki experience appeared to be very traumatic for most who were involved in it. A few members had to appear at the local Army District Command office regularly until well into the 1970s; on the national and provincial levels, the leaders were arrested and detained until 1978-79. The few Chinese who had been active in non-ethnic political parties have also left with great disillusion and disappointment, because during the difficult times after the 1965 Coup, they were treated as Chinese again. Chinese with Indonesian citizenship have taken part in the general elections to elect members of parliaments. It was impossible to obtain a voting pattern, since as a rule Indonesians are very reluctant to talk about which party they vote for, but from overhearing casual conversations here and there, I got the impression that the United Development Party had never gotten the support of the Chinese. Thus, Chinese votes in Pasuruan seemed to go to the remaining two parties, the Golongan Karya and the Indonesian Democratic Party. It seemed from my observation that Chinese who are Protestant almost invariably voted for the latter, and so did some Catholics, obviously because it contained elements from the former Indonesian Christian Party and the Catholic Party. The remainder must have then voted for the Golongan Karya. In fact, Christian fundamentalist preachers openly urged their congregations to vote for it. On the national and provincial levels there are still Chinese, mostly Peranakan, who serve as members of parliament, but all of them

would testily refuse to be identified as Chinese. They identify themselves as Indonesian, and they do not claim to represent Chinese interest, at least not openly. In general, ethnicity is a dirty word in present-day Indonesian formal politics.

Thus, in Pasuruan there are no Chinese in any official government positions, except that sometimes a Chinese lawyer may be found in the judiciary branch of government as a judge or prosecutor. There are also no Chinese officers in the military or the police, and as far as I could find out, there are none in the rank and file, either. The relatively many Chinese physicians occupy important positions in the bureaucracy of the Ministry of Health, but politically they do not seem to count much. When I asked my Chinese informants about being in the government, they usually gave me a puzzled look, and then explained that of course no Chinese would be included in the government. For them it was unthinkable to talk about a Chinese *bupati* or governor (the presidency is constitutionally only for indigenous Indonesians). Some pointed out that the Military Academy discriminates against Chinese applicants, and the medical officers who are Chinese could only rise to the rank of colonel. Some Chinese youths (mostly from a lower-class background) have been trained as members of the Civil Defence corps at the ward level. Also, in predominantly Chinese neighbourhoods, it is possible for Chinese to be elected heads of the inhabitants' and neighbourhood associations. In general, though, the Chinese of Pasuruan tend to shy away from formal politics.

Curiously, however, many Chinese men have been required to participate in the indoctrination workshops held by the government to inculcate the New Order's interpretation of the State Philosophy, Pancasila. Thus, one finds the ironic situation that an alien minority might be better versed in the State Philosophy than the bulk of the indigenous population. But when I asked people in the local government about this, they unequivocally explained to me that of course the Chinese would have to be among the first groups to be indoctrinated, since they form a potential security threat: their hearts and minds could easily be won by Communist China.

Let us now turn to informal politics. It is widely known that some Chinese businessmen have close connections with people in the government, forming an alliance which provides mutual benefits to both parties (cf. e.g. Robison 1978). This phenomenon, usually labelled *cukongisme* *cukongism* (the word *cukong* is derived from Hokkien /cu kong/ 主公 *patron*), is not found in a small town like Pasuruan, however. A few relatively wealthy Totok businessmen seemed to have good relations with government officials in town, but as far as I could observe, no *cukongism*-type connection was forged between them. If anything, the military authorities often borrow commercial vehicles for official purposes, and this is always done in the open. Perhaps this is because Pasuruan is such an economic backwater nowadays, such that no lucrative deals could be made at any rate. Generally speaking, it is safe to conclude that in Pasuruan the Chinese community is not involved in Indonesian political life except at below the ward level.

#### 2.2.4.2 Economic life

A relatively small number of Chinese in Pasuruan are engaged in the service sector. They are mechanics, barbers, dental technicians, photographers and the like. Then there are the professionals: doctors, engineers, preachers, temple-keepers, teachers and secretaries. There are also those who are engaged in small industries, producing furniture, processed foods, ready-made clothing, confectionery, as well as in relatively large industries, producing coconut oil, ice blocks,



bicycle parts, and so on. The remainder are involved in trade, mostly retail trade in almost any merchandise one can think of, except for expensive vehicles and heavy machinery. Finally, I should mention the people who, together with non-Chinese, are employed by those enterprises in varying capacities, from clerks and bookkeepers to manual labourers.

The traditional Chinese work ethic places a high value on people who are self-employed. I found most Totok in Pasuruan running their own enterprises or working as some kind of apprentice to a relative or good friend of the family, with the hope of eventually being able to be self-employed. Peranakan seem to think rather differently. As I mentioned earlier, the upper class seem to aim at the professional world, working for corporations, being academics and so forth. Lower-class Peranakan very rarely work in a Totok establishment. They tend to be self-employed in the service sector as the mechanics, seamstresses and so on, but again with the hope that eventually their children will become professionals.

Thus, most businesses, large and small, are in the hands of the Totok. One can count on one's fingers the number of businesses run by Peranakan. In terms of residential pattern, then, this means that the business districts are overwhelmingly Totok. The upper-class Peranakan tend to live away from them. The very wealthy Totok have gradually bought up the mansions of the old upper-class Peranakan families, which indicates that, not unlike the Peranakan towards the end of the century, they are going up in the world. Lower-class Peranakan and Totok mostly live in the alleys behind the big houses and shop-houses. Again it appeared from my observation that even here the residential pattern tends to follow occupational lines, in the sense that the lower-class Totok families tend to live closer to the business districts than the lower-class Peranakan.

For a long time the different dialect groups comprising the Totok community have specialised in specific types of business. The Hokkien, for example, tend to concentrate on trade. The Cantonese specialise in the manufacture of different kinds of merchandise, from furniture to soy sauce. The Teochiu, despite their common geographical origin in China with the Cantonese, tend to be similar more to the Hokkien. The Hakka are more like the Cantonese, engaging in manufacturing things (cf. e.g. Uchida 1956:591-592). In Pasuruan, the differentiation can still be found among the Totok. Thus, most of the stores are run by Hokkien and other Min-dialect-speaking people. There is usually further specialisation, such as that the Hinghwa tend to engage in the bicycle trade and repairs. The different manufacturing industries in Totok hands are usually run by Hakka and Cantonese.

However, things are gradually changing in the Totok community. As they go up the socioeconomic ladder, their frugality seems to make way for a more leisurely lifestyle. Old grandparents in simple dress can now be seen accompanied by their grandchildren in fairly fashionable dress, often imported from Singapore or Hong Kong. Especially those who are Indonesian citizens now pay a great deal of attention to the education of their children. The elite Christian schools that used to be predominantly Peranakan are also attended by children from Totok families. In the same way that Peranakan families aimed at the professional world during the final years of Dutch colonialism, more and more Totok families are doing the same thing nowadays.

Interestingly, both Peranakan and Totok informants would tell me that although the relatively high living standard of the Chinese community has resulted from working hard in business enterprises, they did not want their children and their children after that to undergo the same hardship. Some of my more educated Peranakan informants actually suggested that staying in the business

sector of the economy leaves the Chinese with a stigma in Indonesian society, so perhaps leaving it altogether is a wise thing to do.

In connection with this, it should be mentioned that for the alien Chinese, these avenues towards a different way of earning one's living are not always available. As I mentioned earlier, education for these people is limited to the high-school level. We are not talking about wealthy businessmen's families here, since they have probably been able to afford naturalisation, but the not so wealthy families. The closed path to higher education means that these people will probably remain in the business sector for a long time yet.

Most of my informants who are in business said that they do not want to bother to apply for loans from the state-run banks in town. To begin with, aliens are barred from getting loans altogether. But even those who are citizens complained about the favouritism shown to indigenous Indonesians, as well as the complicated bureaucracy involved in applying for loans. Instead, the *arisan* has become a convenient way of acquiring a considerable amount of capital. These very informally organised unions consist of between ten and 20 members, who either know each other well or are introduced by one or more members as people they know very well. Trust is very important, obviously, and the initiator and coordinator of the union is always very careful about choosing the right members who s/he can be certain will pay the monthly contributions promptly. A unique characteristic of the business *arisan* is the possibility for a member in urgent need of money to bid for his/her turn to win, by agreeing to accept lower contributions from the other members.

#### 2.2.4.3 Social life

As I mentioned earlier, contacts between Peranakan and Totok tend to be superficial, especially in the case of the older generation. Equally superficial are those between the upper-class and lower-class members of the two communities. Business contacts almost never develop into more intimate friendships; however between clients and store-owners who have had a long history of contacts, relations could be very cordial.

Close friendships and intimate relationships in general are formed in one's neighbourhood, in school and in the various sports clubs. Chinese children always go to certain private schools, the ones run by Catholic foundations and by an education foundation whose board members are predominantly Chinese; none were in the state schools at the time I conducted field research. This is not to say that the private schools only have Chinese children, but it is fair to say that Chinese predominate in them. The schools are quite egalitarian; one can find children from both the upper and the lower class. Also, since the closing down of the Chinese-medium school in town after 1965, many more Totok children have shared their school benches with Peranakan children. Thus, as I said earlier, more than superficial contacts now take place between the Peranakan and Totok children. Many parents are then drawn into these contacts, which provide opportunities for the older generation of the two communities to reconcile their differences somewhat.

The predominantly Chinese sports clubs are contained in the *Yayasan Budi Dharma* mentioned earlier. The clubs are officially open to everybody interested, but in practice very few non-Chinese apply to become members. Also included in the *Yayasan* is a funerary association. Almost all Chinese households become members, paying nominal monthly dues. In addition, when someone in a member

household dies, then members have the option of going to the funeral or paying in cash if they cannot, the money then being used to aid the family of the deceased. The association provides a coffin, a plot in the Chinese cemetery to the south of town, and the hearse to take the coffin there during the funeral.

As I mentioned earlier, Pasuruan is easily connected with the major urban centres of Surabaya and Malang; so, many Chinese frequently go there for business or pleasure. In general, Chinese are no different from other people when it comes to contacts with the outside world. The Totok may be more interested in developments in Chinese-speaking areas, and the Westernised Peranakan in developments in the West. The Chinese community, being an alien minority, tends to be more aware about issues confronting minorities. Some of my Westernised Peranakan informants discussed the position of Jewish minorities in North America and Europe in a way which indicated that they had read much about the Holocaust, about the role of Jews in U.S. politics, and about what they perceived as the plight of Israel. Many of my informants asked me intelligent questions about affirmative action in the U.S., about the Vietnamese boat people and Indochinese refugees in general, about being Chinese in Malaysia and Singapore, about exchange scholars from the People's Republic presently in the U.S., about the status of Taiwan and Hong Kong, and so on.

#### 2.2.4.4 Cultural life

Chinese children take part in different cultural activities in school. The fact that the schools are predominantly Chinese means that not much goes on in the way of Javanese and Madurese arts. The Chinese children usually learn "modern Indonesian" dances and music, perform plays in Indonesian, and so on. The Yayasan Budi Dharma held a talent-show night when I was conducting field research, consisting of such entertainments and a fashion show which reminded me of similar shows, say, in Hong Kong. The performers were all Chinese children and youths. I was intrigued to note that the master of ceremonies was a Javanese woman who worked for the television station in Surabaya.

Among adults, I found few who were interested in arts and letters. A handful of people played the piano or electronic organ, and some Totok enjoyed literature in Mandarin (classical and modern) and some Westernised Peranakan would read fiction in Dutch. Otherwise, young people would read sentimental Indonesian novels, detective novels and thriller comic books.

Of the life-course rituals, Totok celebrate the birth of a baby boy by sending out red-dyed boiled duck eggs to neighbours and acquaintances. Peranakan families usually place the afterbirth in an earthenware urn and throw it into the sea. However, with the increasingly common practice of delivering the baby in a maternity clinic or hospital, this custom seems to be declining.

In Catholic families, baptism of the newborn baby is an important but mostly solemn occasion. The child's first communion may be celebrated with a small family party. Birthdays are celebrated by the Westernised families (which now include some Totok families) and are considered an important occasion.

Premarital sex is still very much frowned upon. When a young woman does become pregnant before marriage, usually after sex with her future husband anyway, a hasty marriage is arranged in order for the baby's birth not to be conspicuously soon after the wedding. There have been cases of weddings where the bride obviously looked pregnant, and this usually becomes a source of gossip in the community. Homosexuality is only discussed among the Westernised Peranakan families,

usually when someone has come of age and still remains single. Younger, more educated people tend to accept it more than the older people. In general, though, the subject is never brought up in any way at all. Openly gender nonconforming transvestite homosexuals, usually lower-class indigenous Indonesians, can be found in town, but again from my observation I gathered that Chinese do not talk about them much, in contrast with lower-class indigenous men, who even openly flirt with them, for example.

Marriages are mostly based on previous romantic courtship nowadays, although it is not impossible for an amateur matchmaker to want to introduce young people from two families. If the couple or at least one of them is Christian, a church wedding is held, usually right before the reception. Long periods of engagement are rare nowadays, most likely because the period of courtship itself is considered enough for the two people to get to know each other. However, it is customary for Chinese to have a civil marriage at the civil registry some time before the actual wedding. The Chinese (and government's) preoccupation with identity documents such as citizenship papers and so on have most likely created this custom of obtaining a legal document for a marriage.

Many Totok couples still perform traditional Chinese wedding rituals at the home of their respective parents, whereas for the Peranakan these have been simplified and in some families abolished. The wedding dress for both Peranakan and Totok is the same nowadays: Western-style coat and tie for the groom and an elaborate wedding gown, also in Western style, for the bride. The food served at the wedding tends to be similar also, namely a six- to 13-course Chinese banquet, depending on the families' wealth. About the only difference is probably the entertainment. More affluent Totok families will hire a singer from Hong Kong or Taiwan to perform at the wedding, and otherwise Totok wedding entertainment usually consists of taped Chinese music, although it is not unusual to have Western popular music also. Peranakan wedding entertainments tend to be a live local band if the families can afford it, or otherwise taped Western popular music.

Where the newly married couple live now depends on pragmatic factors. Most couples seem to prefer living in their own house, and only when they have to, do they live with one set of parents. Thus, marriage is no longer necessarily patrilocal in the way it is in traditional Chinese culture.

Divorce is still very much regarded with disapproval, largely an influence of Confucian tenets. The extended family and friends tend to try hard to reconcile the couple, making many attempts, and only when these fail can the couple usually get a divorce. Similarly, women whose husbands have died are still considered virtuous if they do not remarry. This does not apply to men, however. Concubinage and polygamy do not seem to occur much nowadays, although extra-marital affairs are sometimes found. Some men can also easily have extramarital sex with prostitutes, although the community as a whole, especially upper-class Peranakan, disapprove of prostitution. When men are in a crowd together, though, they do not seem to regard going to a prostitute as beneath their moral dignity.

Totok funerals are elaborate affairs, still more or less done in the traditional Chinese way. On the other hand, Peranakan funerals have become much simplified nowadays. More and more older people now prefer cremation to burial, especially as news of Chinese graveyards being vandalised by indigenous Indonesians is heard constantly in Chinese communities like the one in Pasuruan. The concentration of Chinese graves in a single place, usually out of town and surrounded by poor Javanese residential areas, and the general helplessness of the Chinese in the face of the frequent extortions to which they have lately been subjected when they want to perform a ritual or just visit a grave, are added

incentives for cremation. In several places in Java funerary associations mostly run by Chinese have built special buildings for housing the urns containing people's ashes. Some people wish their ashes to be scattered at sea.

There is one Chinese temple in Pasuruan, identified as Tri Dharma (lit. *three virtues*), i.e. Confucianist, Taoist and Buddhist. I was not able to find out how old the temple was, but it seemed to have been built towards the end of the 19th century. My oldest informant, a Peranakan woman in her mid-70s, remembered the temple was already there when she was a child. A stone inscription at the temple is dated 1894, although of course this could have been from an older temple. Most of the Totok in town come to worship at the temple at important festivals and on the first and 15th day of the lunar month. No communal rituals are held at the temple, since there is no priest at the temple; one only finds an organising body whose office is in the temple compounds, but usually only the temple keeper, an old Peranakan man, is there, or his wife, a lower-class Javanese woman who only knows that she must help burn joss-sticks for those who wish to pray there, for which she and her husband get a small amount of money. I found the temple gate being renovated and the temple itself looking clean and well-kept, which seemed to indicate that for the Totok, Chinese religion is still important. Worshippers consist of young and old, male and female, with children accompanying their parents or grandparents to pray.

A few Totok are Pentecostalist Christians, and worship at the Mandarin-medium Pentecostal church. Their number seemed to be much smaller compared to those who worship at the temple, however. Upper-class Peranakan, by virtue of their Westernisation, tend to worship at the longer-established Catholic and Protestant churches. Lower-class Peranakan tend to worship at Pentecostal, Baptist, Assembly of God, and Seventh-Day Adventist churches, established much more recently by missionaries working more with poorer people. Although no statistics are available on religion in the Chinese community in Pasuruan, from my observation I found the majority of people practising some kind of religion. However, there are also people who are secularly minded, although during censuses and population registrations in general they would identify themselves as Tri Dharma, Confucianist, Buddhist (mostly Totok would do so) or Christian (i.e., as a general category, done mostly by Peranakan).

Traditional Chinese ancestor worship is only practised by Totok nowadays. Even some Totok have left it behind. Respect for parents and older people is still strictly observed by all Chinese, but for the Peranakan, ancestor worship has come down merely to visiting the graves of ancestors, at the most three generations up. Graves of previous ancestors have mostly been neglected, so that they have become levelled off with the ground. The exception is the case of private cemeteries belonging to some upper-class families, but in Pasuruan sections of these have been claimed by squatters as their land, and the families cannot do anything about it. In general, it is fair to predict that within another generation or so, ancestor worship will survive in the form practised by the Peranakan today, that is, of visiting graves without much ritual, even among the Totok. Younger Totok told me they do not think all the rituals are practical; it is remembering one's parents and their parents before them that is essential, but offering food and so forth is increasingly considered unnecessary.

Finally, I should discuss the question of Islamisation. Although there have always been a number of Muslim Chinese even after the ghettoisation of the Chinese in the second half of the 18th century, the issue of Islamisation did not become a major one until the mid-1970s or so. Nowadays Islamisation has been suggested as "the most thorough way into assimilation". The slogan often heard and read these days is "Dengan masuk Islam, asimilasi selesai" *By converting to Islam, assimilation reaches its (natural) conclusion.* Islamisation, if

it is indeed an issue for the Chinese, is not a great concern of small-town Chinese like Pasuruaners. Whenever I brought up the issue, I met with a great deal of cynicism. Many informants considered the new converts opportunists, people trying to save their capital.<sup>32</sup> This is not entirely true, but it is interesting to note that the new converts tend to be found in big cities, and a great majority only in Jakarta (cf. Badan Komunikasi ... 1981:26). Another interesting point to note is the fact that most of them are from Totok cultural background. I did not find any of these new converts in Pasuruan, although I did find a very small number of earlier converts. But these people did not have the fervour with which the more recent converts is usually identified. My Christian informants were very annoyed at the drive for Islamisation. They especially showed objection to the slogan above, as if Islamisation were the only way to become Indonesian.

## 2.2.5 Relations with non-Chinese

### 2.2.5.1 Historical background

From the discussion of the Chinese community so far, we can perceive the more or less distinct cultural, occupational and residential separateness of the community from the other ethnic groups in town. Historically, separate Chinese quarters were already found before the Chinese were officially ghettoised after the massacres of 1740. The separation seemed to arise "from the tendency of the Chinese or in fact any foreign community to live and settle together in neighbourhoods" (Onghokham 1982:280). Nevertheless, during those early days the Chinese quarter appeared to be much more fluid, in the sense that many Chinese, after intermarrying with local women, probably blended into the local community after a generation or so. As Onghokham further explains, though,

... the first regulations to have Chinese live in especially designated China-towns dated perhaps from 1740, after the Chinese massacres in Batavia. These regulations were not really enforced, it seems, until the 1830s when the Dutch government noted with some alarm that the regulations on China towns had not been vigorously enforced ... "thus giving occasion here and there for an amalgamation of the various races" [van Sandick 1909:144ff]. At the same time freedom of movement for the Chinese, such as travelling, for which a Chinese needed a travel pass, was restricted within Java.

(Onghokham 1982:280)

Ghettoisation was more strictly enforced when the Cultivation System started in the 19th century, and still more strictly after the Dutch government finally took over the various farms from the Chinese towards the end of the 19th century (cf. Rush 1977:261, Onghokham 1982:280). The Dutch excuse for ghettoising the Chinese was "to protect the indigenous population from Chinese exploitation", although the real reason behind it was obviously the fear on their part that if the Chinese were allowed to move about freely in the rural areas, then the profits would go to them instead of to the Dutch (Rush 1977:97).

Another important phenomenon that, for a long time, separated the Chinese from other groups in the colony was the way Chinese men dressed and wore their hair. The strict Qing Dynasty rule for men to wear a queue was reinforced in the colony by a dress code whereby each group could not cross-dress, as it were. Thus, for a very long time, in fact up until the beginning of this century, it was easy to spot a Chinese man.

Thus, it is important to perceive Chinese relations nowadays with non-Chinese, especially indigenous Indonesians, in terms of this historical separation of the Chinese community. It is important to note, for example, that towards the end of the 19th century ghettoisation was strictly reinforced. On the other hand, a few wealthy families were exercising the monopolies farmed out to them by the Dutch. As we saw earlier, the different farms (concessions) created a distinct upper class with their own ethos. The Totok community, significantly, formed after the pass and residency regulations were abolished early this century, and also without ever acquiring the ethos of the Peranakan concerning the indigenous population. This explains the more egalitarian attitude that Totok show towards indigenous Indonesians nowadays. Peranakan, especially the upper class, on the other hand, tend to see themselves as highly superior to the Javanese and Madurese. This is not to say that Totok do not have the feeling of superiority that Chinese in general have towards other people, but the feeling is not manifested in the almost total separation that at least the upper-class Peranakan perceive between themselves and the indigenous people. Lower-class Peranakan, by virtue of their inability to afford living on the main thoroughfares, tend to live amidst lower-class Javanese and Madurese, so that such a wide separation is not found among them, but still the centuries of historical separation under the Dutch have left an indelible mark on Chinese relations with non-Chinese in general, which will probably last for a long time to come.

#### 2.2.5.2 Day-to-day contacts

Chinese have contacts with non-Chinese in the stores and other establishments, as well as in the work place if they work for other people, and in school in the case of children. Moreover, Chinese stores usually employ Javanese and Madurese shop-assistants, messengers and coolies, and so do the different Chinese-run establishments. Relations could be cordial, but in most cases do not develop into very intimate contacts, especially in the relatively large industries. The most intimate contacts between Chinese and Javanese and Madurese take place in the household, between Chinese women and children and their female servants. In the upper-class Peranakan families, however, boys are discouraged from too intimate contacts with servants. Basically, it is through these Javanese and Madurese women that Chinese get to know Javanese and Madurese cultures. It is thus not so difficult to imagine how the combination of Chinese superiority complex and the fact that indigenous cultures for the Chinese are the cultures of their servants create the attitude that most Chinese have that the indigenous cultures are inferior to their own culture, whatever it may be.

From time to time Chinese men and to a lesser extent Chinese women have to deal with government officials, such as when applying for or renewing a business licence, getting an identity card, being registered as voters and so on. Most of my informants suggested that they would avoid dealing with the authorities if they could help it. This probably stems from the traditional Chinese reluctance to deal with the government, and in the case of Indonesia most likely because of the view that Chinese are always discriminated against. The great majority of Chinese believe, based on common experience, that when they or their children wish to enrol in a university, obtain a business licence, apply for a passport or an exit visa or engage in any other activities for which special government licence is required, they are very likely to run up against discrimination on the part of government bureaucrats, most of whom are indigenous Indonesians, who either are after their money or merely wish to discriminate.



In the government's effort to correct a perceived imbalance in retail trade and the economy in general, the government has been encouraging the development of an indigenous (non-Chinese) entrepreneurial class. Although the process is slow, changes have begun to show up in the marketplaces and stores of towns like Pasuruan. The Chinese businesspeople tend to adjust and deal with the indigenous businesspeople when indigenous partners are willing to bring about deals which are profitable in the long run. This seems to argue against the stereotype that Chinese are clannish and nepotistic by nature. A trading people tends to be pragmatic and very flexible with their principles when it comes to obtaining profit, and thus one can expect that with more and more skillful indigenous entrepreneurs, business contacts between Chinese and indigenous people will increase.

The Chinese also have contacts with the other sizeable alien minority, the Arabs. Many Arabs are in business themselves, and contacts take place in that context. Some Chinese have Arab neighbours, and the children have Arab friends at school. In general it is fair to state that Chinese and Arabs occupy analogous places in post-independence society in places like Pasuruan. It is interesting, for example, to note that I did not find any Arabs being employed by a Chinese enterprise or the other way around, although business partnerships, albeit in a very small number, have been forged at different times.

Though Chinese may be intimate with individuals of other ethnic groups, they tend to marry within their own group. We saw earlier that normally there are no marriages even between Peranakan and Totok. Thus, one might anticipate that Chinese intermarriage with other ethnic groups would be rare. Even those informants of mine who truly believed in assimilating into Indonesian society considered that marriage is a personal matter, and would find no social engineering concerning marriage acceptable. Since the 1960s there have been a few interethnic marriages where one partner is Chinese, and perhaps with the increasingly common intimate contacts between Chinese and other ethnic groups, we can expect more of those to take place. A point to note is that if we look at lower-class families, intermarriage between Chinese and their indigenous neighbours has always been relatively common. It is significant, however, that for upper-class Chinese, intermarriage with indigenous people seems to happen more when both the bride and groom are Christian.

### 2.2.5.3 Chinese perceptions of the Javanese

Since the most frequent contacts that the Chinese have with indigenous people usually take place at home, i.e. with their Javanese servants, whom they perceive as a subservient people with no initiative, they also seem to perceive lower-class Javanese in general in this way. It seems though that my informants almost never thought about upper-class Javanese when they rattled off their negative stereotypes about the Javanese. It is not impossible, then, that perhaps unconsciously their condescending attitudes also apply to upper-class Javanese.

Most Chinese in Pasuruan do not appreciate Javanese culture. It is true that many Peranakan are familiar with Javanese legends, myths and especially the *wayang* (shadow puppet) stories. In fact, as late as the mid-1960s one could still watch a *wayang* performance at the Chinese temple, usually held as a symbolic gesture of gratitude for a granted wish. But the drive to discourage the practice of Chinese religion in the aftermath of the 1965 Coup perhaps made Peranakan abandon anything to do with the temple. Nevertheless, generally speaking, it is fair to say that most Pasuruan Chinese consider the most refined

Javanese dances and Javanese music utterly boring. About the only type of art some Chinese could appreciate would be folk theatre performances, such as *ludruk*, or Javanese folk music, such as the Javanese-style *kroncong*. In part this could be caused by the general cultural ethos of *pasisir* people, which is very different from people in the *negari*.

Most of my informants unequivocally stated their opinion that the Javanese are lazy, and are out to get their money whenever they can. Those who are in business often perceive themselves as milch-cows for the Javanese authorities. This provides an interesting perspective as to how Chinese perceive the Javanese who are in power. Most of my informants clearly showed that they would lump all Javanese into one category. Whether they were speaking about their servants, the local inhabitants' association head or the officials they see on television, for example, they reacted as if to a single image in their mind. These Chinese perceive themselves as being at the complete mercy of the indigenous majority, but at the same time they are also convinced that as long as the indigenous people can be bought off, things will be all right for them. In the words of one of my Totok informants, a man in his mid-50s, "As long as they like money, we're safe".<sup>33</sup>

But my informants also expressed their concern, since they could not know how long this marriage of convenience would last. The experience of the Vietnamese boat people, who many of my informants knew were ethnic Chinese, seemed to send a chill down their spines. The Westernised Peranakan often compared themselves to the Jews in pre-World War II Germany. Being in a predominantly *santri* area, my informants were always worried whenever election campaign periods occurred, since the mass rallies of the United Development Party apparently included speakers who did not mince their words when they expressed hatred of the Chinese. For example, rumours would spread in the Chinese community after a campaign rally, saying that so-and-so said, "When the United Development Party wins, all Chinese stores will be the people's".<sup>34</sup> It seemed very unlikely that an election campaigner actually said those words, but what is important for our purposes here is the fact that such rumours circulated in the Chinese community.

Many older Chinese still remember the massacres of 1965-66, which were carried out partly by *santri* zealots. They also remember the taking over of stores owned by alien Chinese in 1967-68, although almost all of the stores were bought back by the original owners within six months or so. Neither have they forgotten Government Regulation No.10/1959, which prohibited alien Chinese from carrying out retail trade in rural areas outside a regency capital (cf. Pramoedya 1960 for a detailed discussion of the impact). They also have not forgotten the excesses of the 1945-49 Independence war, when marauding gangs of youths would rob Chinese families, or what happened to their relatives elsewhere, whose property was destroyed by the scorched-earth policy of withdrawing Indonesian troops. They usually do not remember why they were so hated, however. They never thought that collaborating with the Dutch, which some of them did in those days, was in any way antipatriotic.

Thus, many of my informants showed the mentality of a persecuted group of people. A very few were actually wryly proud about the resilience of Chinese in the face of such adverse circumstances. In Pasuruan itself, in fact, there has been very little anti-Chinese violence of the sort that has taken place elsewhere.<sup>35</sup> In the early 1960s there were a few small incidents where young Muslim zealots smashed a few Chinese-owned eating stalls across from the Grand Mosque because they did not close down in the daytime during Ramadan. Even when the major 1968 riots broke out in Surabaya and other places in East Java, Pasuruan was only very tense, but nothing happened. Nothing happened in early 1974,

either, when the anti-Japanese, anti-government and (in a way) anti-Chinese riots in Jakarta broke out during the visit of Japanese Premier Tanaka. At that time Pasuruan was not even tense. The only thing that could be considered close to an anti-Chinese riot took place in late 1980 as an effect of the province-wide riots that began in Solo, Central Java. A fairly small group of youths threw rocks at Chinese stores and houses along the main thoroughfares. However, since apparently through word of mouth all Chinese had been aware that it was about to happen, and since most Chinese stores had installed reinforced steel folding doors, the effect was minimal. At any rate, news about anti-Chinese violence elsewhere, both obtained officially through the mass media and heard through the grapevine, always builds a suspenseful sense of being a persecuted people.

Most of my informants remarked that Javanese place a higher importance on clothes and outward appearance in general than on food. They would point out the fact that even in the upper-class Javanese families meals tend to be very simple, whereas even the poorest Javanese tend to buy a nice set of clothes to wear at important events. Interestingly, a few of my Chinese informants praised the Javanese dietary frugality, although at the same time they frowned upon the extravagance with which Javanese dress up for an occasion. In relation to outward appearance, some of my Chinese informants told me they could not understand why a Javanese house is sometimes built in such a way that the front part (i.e. the outward appearance) is nice and even extravagant, when the inner part can still be rather dilapidated. The Chinese are puzzled by this imbalance, as well as by the relative discomfort with which Javanese, in their view, are willing to live in the inner part of the house to be able to afford a respectable outward appearance.

This was often related to the question of money by my Chinese informants. They thought it very foolish the way the Javanese would borrow money just for respectability in outward appearance, even when this could involve them in a debt trap. Some of my informants, however, had no objection to this aspect of Javanese cultural economy. In their view, the Javanese are their customers, whose every wish and whim should be granted, since in the long run they would bring profit.

Chinese have no respect for a corrupt government official. They would pay a bribe if they think it necessary for them to get something done, but they would then look down upon such officials. Time and again I would note that my informants wished that the officials, who are almost always indigenous people, were honest and efficient. Thus, although many Chinese have no qualms about bribing officials if they have to, they are unhappy about the necessity of having to do so, and would prefer not to. In a way they see taking bribes as another aspect of laziness, i.e. wanting money without working for it. Equally detested is anti-Chinese rioting. It is interesting that the impression I got from my informants was not only that of fear, but also of annoyance and disgust. They suggested to me that if the indigenous lower class want to get where the wealthier Chinese are, they should work hard, but not destroy Chinese property.

My Chinese informants always categorised non-Chinese into two major groups, those who are anti-Chinese (/anti cina/) and those who are pro-Chinese (/pró cina/) or show a kind attitude towards Chinese (/baèq sama cina/). The second category does not by any means consist of people who have become Sinified. Thus, this is far from being a result of cultural chauvinism, but perhaps more from the sense of relief that Chinese feel when they are with people they can trust, people who will not harm them in any way.

Almost all of my Chinese informants frowned upon the frequency of divorce, to which the Javanese take recourse as a resolution when a couple have a difficult relationship. The Chinese still seem to regard marriage as a sacred

institution, such that divorce, as I mentioned earlier, would be very hard to obtain. In general, my female Chinese informants considered themselves the most virtuous women in the community, refraining from premarital sex in most cases.

If I have painted a very negative picture of the Javanese so far, it has only been to represent the views of many of my informants. Among the more educated younger people, the attitudes tend to be not so condescendingly ethnocentric. But even among some of these people, I found some who perhaps inadvertently showed a rather patronising attitude about the role of indigenous people in entrepreneurship. These people stated that they would not mind having competitors in business, but do not believe the indigenous people should have the government support denied them.<sup>36</sup> A very few of my informants were actually quite apologetic about the middleman role that the Chinese played in the colonial economy. These people tended to agree with all the measures taken by the government which discriminate against Chinese.

#### 2.2.5.4 Chinese perceptions of the Madurese

Many of my Chinese informants seemed to perceive Madurese as people who are /*pró cina*/ or /*baèq sama cina*/. My informants would point out how Madurese are also hard working, and especially loyal to a fault. Especially in the old days, my older informants would tell me, a Madurese house guard was most reliable. Once he respects the family, then he is willing even to sacrifice his life to protect them.<sup>37</sup> However, the Javanese perception that Madurese are a quick-tempered people was also shared by my Chinese informants.

Although the Madurese are often singled out for the admirable characteristics just mentioned, it seems that when the Chinese look down upon the indigenous people out of ethnocentrism, they look down on any indigenous group, not just the Javanese. To these people, the indigenous people are the /*whana*/ or /*i ni rhen*/ as a single group. The perceptions concerning the Madurese were usually expressed separately when I asked people particularly what they thought of the Madurese. Thus, many of the general perceptions about indigenous people that I mentioned in Section 2.2.5.3 should be construed as applying to the Madurese as well.

#### 2.2.5.5 Chinese perceptions of the Arabs

Under colonial rule, Chinese and Arabs were categorised as *Vreemde Oosterlingen* (Non-Indigenous Orientals), which socially implied that they were second-class citizens, the first-class citizens being Europeans (and Japanese after the turn of this century) and the third-class citizens being the *Inlanders* (Indigenes). Thus, even now many Chinese who have a condescending attitude towards the indigenous people would regard the Arabs as their equals.

However, many Chinese, especially those in business, perceive the Arabs as untrustworthy and constantly conniving. Younger, more educated people tend not to have this perception, however. Interestingly, some of my Chinese informants saw the Arabs as people who, under the guise of sharing Islam with most indigenous people, are actually out to trick the indigenous people.

### 2.2.5.6 Javanese perceptions of the Chinese

When most Javanese and other non-Chinese in a place like Pasuruan think about the Chinese, almost invariably the first thing that comes up in their mind is money. In many ways this is understandable, given the role the Chinese have played in the economy of the archipelago from as early as the 15th century, then through European colonial rule and continuing up to the present. It does not really matter that a few of the more educated Chinese are not in the economic sector; to the non-Chinese, all Chinese are only after profit and more profit.

In this connection, it is instructive to look at how the Javanese look at money and wealth in general.<sup>38</sup> Wealth in itself is not a taboo for the Javanese; in fact, it is a necessary part of the paraphernalia of power. It is the day-to-day, nitty-gritty, pursuit of wealth that characterises a trading people as *kasar* (crass). Javanese place a very high value on inner serenity, in a harmonious way of life. Ambitiousness is thus seen as contrary to this ideal. Geertz (1963) states that Javanese tend to perceive traders as being outside their ethical order (p.44). Elsewhere, he has this to say about Javanese traders:

[R]elationships between traders (and between traders and customers) are highly specific: commercial ties are carefully insulated from general social ties. Friendship, neighborliness, even kinship are one thing, trade is another; and the impersonal, calculating, rationalistic approach to economic activity which has sometimes been held to characterize only advanced economies is present in the *Modjokuto pasar* ['market'] to a marked degree. The market is the one institutional structure in Javanese society where the formalism, status consciousness, and introversion so characteristic of the culture generally are relatively weak: bargaining, credit balances, and trade coalitions all respond quite directly and explicitly to the narrow concerns of material advantage.

(Geertz 1963:46)

Chinese, stereotyped as a trading minority, are then doubly marked. Not only are they outside the Javanese ethical order because of that stereotype, but also because they are a different people (/bongso lio/ [lit. *other nation*]) to the Javanese. Javanese have a particular way of tolerating difference, which arises from their great cultural self-consciousness, the proud awareness of being Javanese. Anderson (1965) explains that "[s]o deeply ingrained is this pride that almost anything is tolerated, provided that it can be adapted to or explained in terms of the Javanese way of life" (p.5). Anderson also states elsewhere that this tolerance is not normally meant to include the Chinese, though, "to whom the Javanese normally feel a little superior" (Anderson 1965:1).

I also perceive, however, that behind the superiority complex there is a sense of insecurity and perhaps even slight admiration at least on the part of some Javanese. These people feel insecure because they see how over the last 300 years or so the Javanese have been losers in what they perceive as their own land, while alien powers have been able to subjugate them: the Dutch in the political sphere and the Chinese in the economic sphere. On the other hand, a few of my Javanese informants who were in trade themselves seemed to admire the work ethic of the Chinese. They wished they and their children could be like the Chinese in pursuing success and wealth. Nevertheless, I think it is fair to say that these people are still an exception nowadays, although with the increase of an indigenous entrepreneurial class, perhaps the view will be increasingly prevalent.

In general, then, Javanese see the Chinese work ethic as crass, overly ambitious and hence utterly against the Javanese ideal. The crassness of the Chinese is perceived in other aspects as well. To the *santri* Javanese, Chinese are an infidel, pork-eating, uncircumcised people. In Pasuruan one often hears epithets like /cino mangan babi/ *pork-eating Chink* as well as the /cino gaq sunat/ *uncircumcised Chink* previously referred to, hurled at vulnerable Chinese by children and youths of *santri* background. Besides eating pork, Chinese are seen as crass because when they eat from a bowl, they slurp. They are also perceived as crass because they clear the throat and spit any old way they want, as many of my non-Chinese informants said.

The perception of Chinese as a crass people brings up an interesting point, namely the fact that non-Chinese never differentiate between the different sub-categories of Chinese I mentioned earlier. The most markedly Chinese people to the non-Chinese are the China-born Totok, who speak a local language imperfectly, and fit all the stereotypes they have about Chinese in general. The traditional Chinese music that may be heard wafting from Chinese stores and shopping centres also reinforces the crassness of the stereotypical Chinese, since especially Javanese think of the music as foreign, extremely loud, discordant, and hence not like the calm and serene Javanese traditional music. From time to time, in actual contact with a Chinese, a non-Chinese may honestly, and with considerable surprise, remark how "Javanese-like" the Peranakan can be (/koq yho koyoq wong jowo, yho?/ *Surprisingly, [they're] like Javanese people, eh?*). Or the Javanese would say that a Chinese they know is not at all like the other Chinese (/gaq koyoq cino-cino lioné/). In general, then, the Chinese are all a single group of people to the non-Chinese. The ignorance on the part of non-Chinese concerning what Chinese are actually like, then, is very similar to the ignorance on the part of the Chinese when it comes to understanding the non-Chinese.

And, as with attitudes to traditional Chinese music, Chinese culture in general is not appreciated by non-Chinese, except kungfu films and stories, which surprisingly draw even the *santri* youths' interest. A very few syncretist theosophists and spiritualists would be familiar with Taoism and to a lesser degree with Confucianism, but again these people are an exception. But perhaps the one Chinese thing that attracts just about any non-Chinese is Chinese food. When it comes to eating Chinese food, especially those who are not *santri* would openly admit having a taste for it. The fact that the food might contain pork does not bother them in the least. However, with the deliberate government drive to suppress the development of "Chinese culture" (*kebudayaan Cina*), it is to be expected that non-Chinese will even know less about the Chinese in the future.<sup>39</sup>

Javanese insecurity in the face of what they perceive as the domination of the Indonesian economy by the Chinese has already been discussed. It seems that many Javanese have hard feelings about the fact that it was they who fought for the independence of their land, but it is the Chinese who have been reaping the profits after independence, while most Chinese did not fight (cf. Koentjaraningrat 1976:47, Hidajat 1977:170). Thus, Javanese and many other indigenous ethnic groups have been clamouring for a larger share of the economic pie in Indonesia. In relation to this, we saw earlier how discriminatory measures have been taken by the Indonesian government against the Chinese to help an indigenous entrepreneurial class develop. Curiously, however, some indigenous entrepreneurs actually accuse the government of favouritism towards the Chinese. They complain that Chinese are always given priorities when arranging for bank loans, licences and so forth.<sup>40</sup> As a matter of fact, the view has often been aired that Chinese tend to corrupt indigenous government officials by offering bribes, suggesting devious ways of doing business and so on. Indigenous Indonesians also tend to be suspicious of Chinese all the time, since they perceive Chinese as people

whose only interest is in making profits. Thus, at the same time that the government has been encouraging Chinese to assimilate, to take up citizenship (at least prior to 1962) and to adopt Indonesian names, elements of the same government doubt the sincerity with which Chinese comply with these directions. Chinese who have opted for Indonesian citizenship are often accused of doing so to protect their business. Similarly, the mass change of many Chinese names in 1967-68 has not been totally approved by some indigenous Indonesians. In 1981 the prestigious national newsweekly *Tempo* sent out questionnaires to 1,000 respondents all over the country, trying to poll Indonesians' opinions concerning national unity. Among the numerous items in the questionnaire, there was a question about the change of names by Chinese. Interestingly, 36.17% of the respondents were of the opinion that changing Chinese names would confuse the background of the people concerned ("mengacaukan latar belakang warga yang bersangkutan"). Only 25.93% thought it would help assimilation ("membantu pembauran"), but an equal percentage of people thought it would not ("kurang membantu"), while only 11.6% considered it to be very helpful ("sangat membantu"). The remaining 7.73% actually stated it would jeopardise national unity ("merusakkan persatuan bangsa") (cf. "Suara-suara kerukunan ..."). Thus, the whole matter again brings up an important point in the question of assimilation: what if the indigenous ethnic groups should refuse to be assimilated into?

Politically, Chinese loyalty to the Indonesian nation has been doubted by many indigenous Indonesians. These people see the Chinese as indifferent to the development of the nation. In many ways the indigenous people's suspicion could be justified. As I mentioned earlier, when Indonesian nationalism was developing and becoming increasingly vociferous in demanding independence, most Chinese who were politically aware tended to be oriented towards China or the Netherlands (cf. Williams 1960; Suryadinata 1979, 1981c, on different streams in Chinese Indonesian politics). During the 1945-1949 Independence War with the Dutch, only very few Chinese took part in the fighting. Many Chinese took refuge in Dutch-occupied territories. Some Chinese youths even organised themselves or were organised by the Dutch into protection squads (called *Pao An Tui* [Bao An Dui 保安队]), whose main function was to protect Chinese lives and property from Indonesian troops. There were a few excesses in which a squad committed atrocities against indigenous people, and this as well as the fact that the squads themselves were formed at all has been resented by indigenous Indonesians and pro-Indonesia Chinese alike. After the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic in 1949, some Chinese, mostly Totok, were still oriented to China, and continued to be so until well into the late 1960s, when they finally realised that China had virtually abandoned them anyway. The increasing tilt of Indonesian foreign policy towards China and other socialist countries in East and South-east Asia in the first half of the 1960s, gave the China-oriented Chinese more confidence in maintaining a separate political identity in Indonesia. However, the allegation that China masterminded the Indonesian Communist Party attempted coup of 1 October 1965, put all Chinese in a very difficult position. The new rulers, very anticommunist and partly anti-Chinese, understandably branded the Chinese a fifth column, a dangerous element in Indonesian society who could be used for "subversive communist activities". Thus, the renunciation of the Dual Nationality Treaty mentioned earlier was clearly aimed at preventing alien Chinese (officially citizens of the People's Republic) from "disappearing within Indonesian society as citizens". Since freezing relations with China in 1967, Indonesia has not shown any initiative for resuming relations nor responded favourably to China's offers at normalisation (cf. Suryadinata 1981a, 1983, on this issue of normalisation and the Chinese in Indonesia). In fact, in recent years Indonesia's rulers seem to prefer courting Vietnam, on the grounds that



China is potentially a common enemy and a threat to South-east Asia (cf. "Undangan Hanoi ...", and Awanohara 1984a, 1984b).

#### 2.2.5.7 Madurese perceptions of the Chinese

The Madurese settlers in Pasuruan and the Eastern Salient in general are themselves a migrant people, so in many ways their work ethic is the same as that of the Chinese. Even in Madura, Chinese seem to have had a less difficult time in terms of day-to-day contacts with the Madurese people. In fact, many intermarriages have occurred over the centuries of contact, and seem to be continuing to take place nowadays. One interesting point to note is the fact that everybody who hails from Madura tends to be considered Madurese, something not found among the Javanese. This is not saying that Chinese have lost a separate identity, but it is an identity within a Madurese identity. It is also important to note that no anti-Chinese violence has ever been reported to occur in Madura (cf. The 1965:73), except for a short period in 1965-66 when apparently in certain rural areas overzealous Muslim youths converted non-Muslim Chinese into Islam by force.

My Madurese informants tended to admire the Chinese work ethic, while putting down the Javanese in the same breath. A couple of times a Madurese family would ask me to get them business connections with Chinese, going on at great lengths about how Chinese are better business partners compared to Javanese.

However, the fact that the Madurese is another minority makes it such that not many Madurese policy-makers are found in the government, and in consequence they have no role in drafting policies concerning the Chinese.

#### 2.2.5.8 Arab perceptions of the Chinese

Arabs perceived the Chinese as equals, in the same way and for the same reason that Chinese perceive them as equals (q.v. above). The more religious Arabs perceive Chinese as infidels, but otherwise Chinese are just business competitors (and in a very few cases, partners). Since Arabs also tend to show a certain degree of condescension towards indigenous people, they feel neutral about similar attitudes on the part of the Chinese. One thing that is often mentioned by Arab community leaders is the fact that Arabs have more successfully assimilated into Indonesian society (cf. Algadri 1976). It is in this context that they feel superior to the Chinese, who in their view have not successfully assimilated into Indonesian society.

### 2.3 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The Chinese of Pasuruan thus form a minority community that has been and still is culturally, occupationally and in many cases residentially separate from the other ethnic groups in the town. We have seen, however, that the younger generation has had more contacts with the other ethnic groups through education and various other desegregated activities that almost never took place under Dutch rule. The Peranakan-Totok cleavage in the community is still fairly distinct, although here again relations and assimilative contacts between the two groups are increasingly improving. The Totok community is especially under strong pressure to assimilate, at least into a more Peranakan culture, and all

Chinese are under pressure to assimilate into both the Indonesian society and into the local ethnic groups. At the same time, however, at least the older generation is still holding on to certain values and practices from the past, but with the passing of time perhaps more and more Chinese will be amenable to becoming more Indonesian, although it is probably unrealistic even to raise the question of becoming Javanese or Madurese. The Chinese are also under constant scrutiny for their loyalty to the nation; also, the burden lies on them to prove that they are not a security threat to the nation.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. Surapati had sought refuge at Kartasura because of his disillusionment with the Dutch. Amangkurat II (1677-1703), who had begun to hate the Dutch, saw in him a powerful ally.
2. These and other data concerning the municipality, unless stated otherwise, are taken from *Statistik Kotamadya Pasuruan 1981*.
3. This administrative unit was abolished in 1964. Although instead of residents one now finds assistants to the governor (pembantu gubernur), their administrative power is much less than in former times.
4. Data from *Statistik Kabupaten Pasuruan 1981*.
5. The 1982 figures are temporary figures for votes given for members of the D.P.R.D. (*Surabaya Post*, 5 May 1982); no definitive figures were available to me at the time of field research.
6. No figure was available to me for the town itself; the above figure is taken from Alfian, *Hasil pemilihan umum 1955 untuk Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat (D.P.R.)*, Jakarta: Leknas, 1971:90-97. The 1971 figure is taken from Lembaga Pemilihan Umum, *Daftar Pembagian Kursi Hasil Pemilihan Umum Anggota Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat Tahun 1971 ... serta Penyebarannya untuk Tiap Daerah Tingkat II*. Jakarta, 1971.
7. The 1980 Census figures show that 12,022 out of 12,835 children (93.66%) between the ages of seven and 12 years old were in school (cf. Biro Pusat Statistik, *Penduduk Jawa menurut Propinsi dan Kabupaten/Kotamadya*, Seri:L No.5. Jakarta, 1981).
8. For a more detailed discussion of Javanese religion, cf. Geertz 1960.
9. Figures taken from Biro Pusat Statistik, *Penduduk Jawa*.
10. For general surveys of the Chinese of Java, cf. Liem (1947), Skinner (1958, 1960, 1961), and for those concerning the Chinese of Indonesia in general, cf. Cator (1936), Ong (1943), Pramoedya (1960), Skinner (1963), Purcell (1965, the chapters on Indonesia), Somers (1974, the chapters on Indonesia), Mackie (1976a, Chapter I) and Liem (1980). For a survey of the study of Indonesian Chinese up to 1977, cf. Suryadinata (1978b). A quite thorough bibliography covering works in Western languages and Malay/Indonesian from the 18th century up to 1981 is Nagelkerke (1982). This work incorporated previous bibliographies on studies on the Chinese of Indonesia (cf. the list in Mackie 1976a:253), including the earlier bibliography by Nagelkerke (1975). For works in Chinese up to 1966, cf. the relevant entries in the

bibliography by Shu and Wan (1968:86-105); at any rate, nothing significant has been produced in Chinese that is comparable in scholarship to the above-mentioned general works.

11. For the sake of comparison, it should be mentioned that the percentage for East Java Province was 1.3% (346,159 Chinese out of a total population of 28,023,775) and that for Java and Madura was 1.6% (1,366,090 Chinese out of a total population of 85,256,159). The percentage for the whole country was estimated in 1977 to be 2.9% (3,945,387 out of a total population of 135 million) (Liem 1980:250). Assuming that the percentage was constant, and the projected total population of Indonesia for 1982 was 147,590,298 (Biro Pusat Statistik, *Statistik Indonesia: Statistical yearbook of Indonesia 1980/1981*. Jakarta, 1982), there were then approximately 4,300,000 Chinese in the country at the time of research.
12. This figure was computed by obtaining 5.7% of the population of the municipality in 1981, which was 94,045; to the result, 5,360, was added 1.49% to account for the rate of population growth, resulting in the figure 5,441, which was in turn rounded up to 5,500. However, compared with the figures obtained on the membership of the Yayasan Budi Dharma funerary association (Section 1.4.1), namely ca. 1,200 adult members, one wonders if there are not more than only 5,500 Chinese in Pasuruan.
13. The decision to replace the two latter terms was made at an Army Seminar in August 1966, and confirmed by the Cabinet in July 1967. The seminar justified its decision "from the historical and sociological point of view", without elaborating it further. *Tiongkok* and *Tionghoa* replaced the older, then neutral, term *Tjina* early in the century, as a result of the rise of a pan-Chinese nationalism in the Indies, embodied in the organisation *Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan* 'Chinese Association', which in turn resulted from developments in China that culminated in the foundation of the Republic of China in 1911 (called *Tiong Hua Bin Kok* 中華民國 in Hokkien). The terms *Tiongkok* and *Tionghoa* became connected to progress and the new China, while *Tjina* became connected with backwardness, humiliation, queues and bound feet, and the old China in general (cf. Siauw 1981:14-15, 365-366). Gradually *Tjina* acquired an opprobrious connotation. Nowadays, however, the generation who have grown up after the 1966 decision, especially if they are very Indonesia-oriented and wish to assimilate as far as possible into Indonesian society, argue that by now the term *Cina* is neutral, although older people, both Chinese and non-Chinese, have not forgotten its negative connotation. As a result, a number of different euphemisms have developed (see Coppel and Suryadinata 1978, and later in this section and in Section 2.2.2.3).
14. As we shall see later, /caynis/ is also used to a large extent by non-Chinese to refer to Chinese in the latter's presence.
15. Baperki was formed in 1954 by Indonesia-oriented Chinese. Its line was basically one in which Chinese would be allowed to maintain a separate identity within the larger Indonesian nation, on a par with other, indigenous ethnic groups. Eventually Chinese Indonesians would naturally assimilate into Indonesian society, but the process was to be carried out gradually. This line is usually referred to as integrationist. The other line, referred to as assimilationist, was for Chinese to dissolve (*membaur*) into Indonesian society, or even into local ethnic groups immediately, abandoning any separate Chinese identity completely. The proponents of this view, the L.P.K.B. (*Lembaga Pembinaan Kesatuan Bangsa* 'Institute for the Cultivation of National Unity'), formed in 1963, were mostly right-wing Catholic Chinese

- intellectuals with close connections with the Army who were especially in disagreement with the Baperki's increasingly left-leaning politics. The Baperki was banned in 1966 because of its left-wing politics, which caused it to be associated with the P.K.I., on which the 30 September Movement coup attempt was blamed. The L.P.K.B. people are still active these days in a program called *pembauran* 'dissolution, assimilation'. In 1967 the L.P.K.B. itself was dissolved since it was thought that its task had been accomplished, but a similar body was created in 1977, the *Bakom-P.K.B.* (*Badan Komunikasi Penghayatan Kesatuan Bangsa* 'Communications Body for the Implementation of National Unity'). For a more detailed discussion on these developments, cf. e.g. Somers 1964, 1965, *passim*; Suryadinata 1978c:70-72.
16. These characters (lit. *past the murky water*) are found in an unidentified Malay-Chinese dictionary. One of my informants also gave 过水 (lit. *small island across*) as the characters for this name.
  17. As we shall see later, relations between Chinese and Madurese tend to be different from those between Chinese and Javanese.
  18. Language behaviour is also a very important criterion by which people identify someone as Chinese, but that will be the subject of Chapters 3-5.
  19. Ever since Independence, Chinese have been pressured to assimilate into Indonesian society, which generally means becoming less Chinese and more Indonesian or more like the local indigenous ethnic group. The question of assimilation will be discussed in greater detail later when we look into the community life and interethnic relations in Sections 2.2.4 and 2.2.5. See also note 15 above.
  20. The term *Totok* is only commonly used by those who know Dutch, in the term /totok syinéésen/ (Totok-Chinezen; q.v. below). It is also used by the Singkèq (q.v. below) to refer to China-born people, but it is pronounced /totoq/ then.
  21. The etymology of this word is not clear. Tan (1979:19), in his work on the Baba of Malaka quotes N.B. Dennys (*A descriptive dictionary of British Malaya*. London: London & China Telegraph Office, 1894, 12) as saying that *Baba* "was originally the Turkish word for 'Sir', 'Father', or 'Child', and was introduced into the Straits Settlements through India". He also quotes J.D. Vaughan (*The manners and customs of the Chinese of the Straits Settlements*. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1971, 2; first published 1879) as saying that *Baba* "was used by the natives of Bengal to designate the children, and possibly the Indian convicts in Penang applied this term to Chinese children and so it came to general use". Among *Baba* families in Java, the term was used as a title for old men, and nowadays can still be heard as an affectionate term used before the name of a little boy.
  22. Although I am using the *Baba* categorisation of the community here, the Singkèq category in most cases agrees with the category perceived by the people themselves, in the sense that the dichotomy *Baba* vs. Singkèq is also perceived by the latter, albeit labelled differently, as we shall see presently.
  23. For a detailed discussion of Chinese- and Dutch-medium education, see Sections 5.2.1.1 and 5.3.1.2.
  24. An instruction issued by then-Acting President General Suharto in December 1967 (Presidential Instruction No.14/1967) stated that "Chinese religion, beliefs and customs [in Indonesia] originated in their ancestral land and their various manifestations may generate unnatural influence on the

psychology, mentality and morality of Indonesian citizens and therefore impede the natural propensity [for assimilation]" (cited in Suryadinata 1978c:160; the full text is found in Lie 1970).

25. A number of different factors have played a role in the Christianisation of Peranakan. It appeared that they saw the opening of missionary schools in the second half of the 19th century as a means of upward mobility (cf. Tio 1958, *passim*). The fact that most inhabitants of Java and Madura have been Muslims made it such that Christian schools there have mostly been attended by Peranakan Chinese. After independence, Peranakan saw Christianity as a way of assimilating into the Christian sections of Indonesian society, conversion into Islam being viewed as too culturally alien.
26. These officers are in no way military. They were first appointed by the Dutch United East India Company in port cities that the latter controlled, to administer affairs concerning the Chinese on their behalf. The system was continued by the Dutch government when it took over the colony from the bankrupt Company at the end of the 18th century. The appointment was invariably based on the wealth of the appointees, which resulted from the farming of rights to run a marketplace, sale of salt, rights to run pawnshops, gambling dens and, most importantly, the sale of opium (cf. e.g. Onghokham 1982:281-284).
27. Although Chinese immigrants had always lived in special quarters even before the Dutch came to the archipelago, it was only after the wholesale massacre of Batavia Chinese (and Chinese at other places as well) in 1740 that Chinese were required to live in specially designated quarters and to have a travel pass whenever they left these ghettos (cf. e.g. Kemasang 1982 for a discussion of the massacre). These regulations were not enforced consistently until after the start of the Cultivation System, when the Dutch wanted to make sure no Chinese traders would interfere with their agricultural operations in the rural areas. But even during these years, the holders of the various farms and their employees were still able to move about freely (cf. Rush 1977:96-97, 116, 261; Onghokham 1982:280-284, 288-289).
28. For details on Chinese nationalism in Java, cf. Williams 1960, Kwee 1969 and Suryadinata 1979, 1981c.
29. I will discuss this in more detail in Section 5.2.1.2.
30. In 1965 the Indonesian Immigration Department registered 1,134,420 citizens of the People's Republic and 1,252 "stateless", as compared to approximately 1,500,000 who were Indonesian citizens (Suryadinata 1978c:122).
31. The full text of the Decree may be found *inter alia* in Prasetyo 1980:111-115.
32. For a similar view, cf. Siauw 1981:251.
33. /pokoqé kalóq dia-orang masiq sukaq jyèn, kita-orang slamet/.
34. /nèq pé tiga menang, tókó-tókóné cino duèqé raqyat/.
35. I will not discuss the anti-Chinese riots nor their circumstances in the present work; cf. The 1966 and Mackie 1976b for riots up to 1974. No analysis of the 1980 riots is available yet as far as I know; summaries of news clippings are Siswoyo 1981 and van Dijk 1981:97-100.
36. Many Chinese see the government as undertaking a clear policy of favouritism towards non-Chinese entrepreneurs, which they think is unfair.

37. cf. Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *Bumi manusia*. Jakarta, Hasta Mitra, 1980; translated into English as *This earth of mankind* by Max Lane. Ringwood, Victoria, Australia, Penguin Books Australia, 1982, for an example of Madurese loyalty, i.e. in the character called Darsam.
38. I have greatly benefitted from the research of Suzanne Brenner (1983). While I agree with all the points she makes about indigenous perceptions of the Chinese, I have also done some research on the literature as well as conducted participant observations and interviews in the field. As such, I should be held solely responsible for the things I have to say in this section.
39. See Section 5.2.1.2 on this cultural policy under the New Order government.
40. Thus, both the Chinese and the indigenous entrepreneurs have the same perception about each other when it comes to the way government officials treat them.

## Chapter 3

### GENERAL LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND

In order to understand the sociolinguistic situation of the Chinese community in Pasuruan, it is necessary to be familiar with the larger sociolinguistic context of the Pasuruan area. I will start by looking at the Pasuruan area in terms of its place on the linguistic map of East Java. I will then narrow down the scope of my attention to the linguistic repertoire of the Chinese community in very general terms. I will discuss the language contact situation involving Javanese and Malay/Indonesian, which for most members of the community form the moulds, as it were, for other languages used to various degrees and in different roles in the community, namely Chinese regional dialects, Mandarin Chinese and Dutch.

In this way I hope to set the stage for the more complex and detailed discussion of language behaviour and language attitudes and how the two are inter-related with ethnic and class identity, which will be the subject of subsequent chapters.

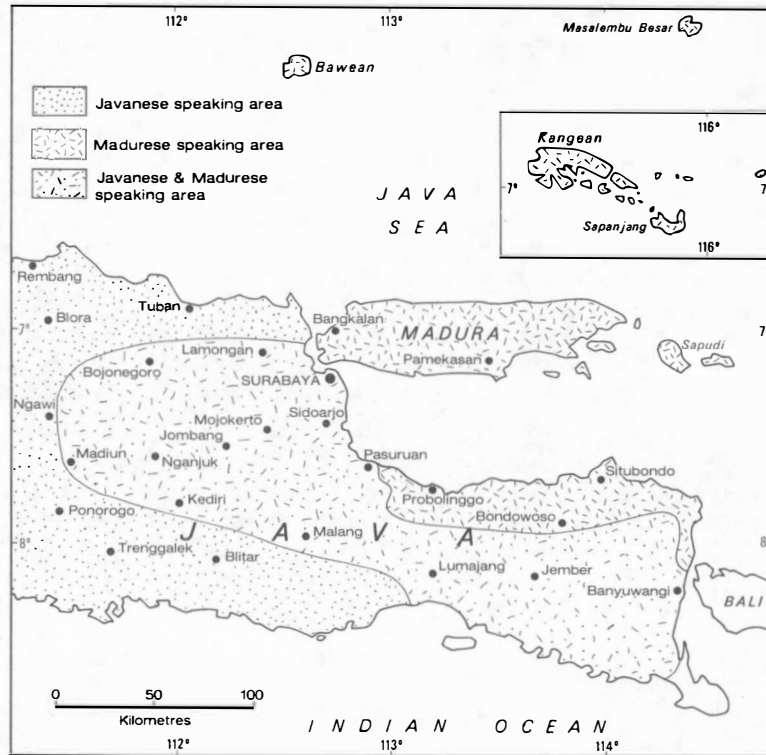
#### 3.1 A LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION OF THE PASURUAN AREA

Being residents of Pasuruan, the Chinese community in many ways come into contact with the rest of the people in the town. This is also true linguistically. As a matter of fact, the Javanese and Malay/Indonesian used by the Chinese are similar in many ways to that used by the rest of the inhabitants of the town.

Pasuruan is situated right on the border between the area where speakers of Javanese and Madurese are and the area where most people are speakers of Madurese, in the eastern part of East Java Province (see Map 3.1).

##### 3.1.1 Javanese

The town itself is basically a Javanese-speaking community in the sense that although there are Madurese-speaking quarters in the northern part of town, their inhabitants are outnumbered by those who speak Javanese.<sup>1</sup> The Javanese is what can be termed Eastern Javanese, the Malang-Pasuruan dialect, the Surabaya-Malang-Pasuruan dialect, or the *pasisir* 'coastal, peripheral' dialect.<sup>2</sup> One finds linguistic and sociolinguistic characteristics peculiar to this dialect area of East Java. The linguistic characteristics proper will be discussed in the next section when we look into the way Javanese is used by the Chinese community. Here I will briefly describe the sociolinguistic characteristics pertaining to the use of Javanese by ethnic Javanese.



Map 3.1: Dialect map of East Java

Kartomihardjo (1981:5-6) divides the ethnic Javanese into two major sub-groups, i.e. the working group and the educated group (including the *priyayi*).<sup>3</sup> People belonging to the working group use *Ngókó* (low-level) and *Madyo* (middle-level) Javanese with a greater variety of functions, and use *Kromo* (high-level) Javanese only to a very limited extent. In addition, they tend to use *Kromo Inggél* (honorifics) for themselves, such as in saying /*kagungan dalem/ mine* instead of /*gagahan dalem/*.<sup>4</sup> This usage is considered uncouth, rustic, or at best ridiculous by educated Javanese, since by using the honorifics for themselves, the working people inadvertently raise themselves in status, something very un-Javanese for the educated. On the other hand, working-class people tend not to use certain *Kromo Inggél* forms when referring to a respected third person. For example, they may say:

- (1) ndoro=mu wés teko?  
 /master=your already come/  
 Has your master arrived yet?



using the *Ngókó* word /teko/ instead of what is expected in the standard dialect, which is:

(2) ndoro=mu wés rawóh?

/rawóh/ being the *Kromo Inggél* form. On the contrary, people from the educated class use all levels when speaking Javanese.

### 3.1.2 Indonesian

As part of the Republic of Indonesia, Pasuruan is obviously also an area where Indonesian, the national language, is used in various domains, such as in formal education, and in official affairs. Colloquial Indonesian is also more widely used among the educated class, especially the non-*priyayi*,<sup>5</sup> who even use Indonesian (in addition to *Ngókó* Javanese) at home. The use of Indonesian has also become common among the urban working class (Kartomihardjo 1981:6-9).

### 3.1.3 Madurese

Something should be mentioned on the use of Madurese. As mentioned earlier in Sections 2.1.2.4 and 3.1.1, there are ethnic Madurese quarters in the northern part of town. They use a dialect of Madurese (called *Madura Pandhalungan* 'hybrid Madurese') among themselves, and have constant contacts with their relatives on the island of Madura to the extent that they maintain the use of Madurese despite being surrounded by a majority of Javanese-speaking people. Unlike the areas further to the east, however, the Javanese and Chinese of Pasuruan very rarely speak Madurese with these people, so that in the detailed discussion of the language situation of the Chinese, I will completely ignore Madurese.

Now that we are somewhat familiar with the general situation prevailing in Pasuruan, we are ready to narrow down our attention to the ethnic Chinese minority in the town.

## 3.2 LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRE OF THE PASURUAN CHINESE

In the present study I have taken the Chinese community as a given entity. As I mentioned in Sections 1.1 and 2.2.2, the decision is based on the fact that both the Chinese themselves and the surrounding majority as well as other minorities think of the Chinese community as separate.

Linguistically speaking, we can also talk about some sort of community. Obviously there are times when at least some Chinese can be said to use exactly the same language variety as, say, their Javanese counterparts. Those Chinese who manage to use Indonesian, both formal and colloquial, for example, may at times not be recognised as Chinese, especially when physical characteristics are not indicative of their being Chinese or when those characteristics are not visible, such as in a telephone conversation. And indeed those Chinese may be seen as belonging to the general group of people who speak Indonesian without ethnic identity markers, so to speak. However, it is undeniably true that both the Chinese and the rest of the people in Pasuruan are aware that there are types of linguistic behaviour that specifically pertain to the Chinese community. Of

course, linguistic behaviour is not the only indicator by which the Chinese are seen to be different, but it is not unthinkable that linguistic behaviour as such may lead to their being recognised as Chinese.

### 3.2.1 The Chinese as a linguistic community

It is fairly well known in the literature on sociolinguistics that the concept of a linguistic community or speech community is very elusive. Hudson (1980: 30) is sceptical of the notion "speech community" as actually existing in reality. In this way it is almost impossible for the linguist to try to delimit, in any satisfactory way, the group of people under study since

- ... each individual creates the systems for his verbal behavior so that they shall resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he may wish to be identified, to the extent that
- a. he can identify the groups,
- b. he has both opportunity and ability to observe and analyze their behavioral systems,
- c. his motivation is sufficiently strong to impel him to choose, and to adapt his behavior accordingly,
- d. he is still able to adapt his behavior.

(Hudson 1980:27, citing Le Page 1968)

Bolinger (1975) places an emphasis on this difficulty by saying that

- ... there is no limit to the ways in which human beings league themselves together for self-identification, security, gain, amusement, worship, or any of the other purposes that are held in common; consequently there is no limit to the number and variety of speech communities that are to be found in society.

(cited in Hudson 1980:28)

However, one must have a more or less delimitable community in mind, if only to facilitate setting limits to one's research. Labov (1972b:120) in fact claims that, based on the criterion of "participation is a set of shared norms", a group of people like all the people in New York City, the context of his claim, for example, can be treated as a single speech community (cited in Hudson 1980: 27, 29). Therefore, it is mainly for methodological convenience that I have chosen to treat the Chinese of Pasuruan as a linguistic community. As we will see in the course of this work, the findings of my study have shown that in many cases it is justifiable to do so, since there are differences in language behaviour and language attitudes that set the Chinese apart from the surrounding majority community. Furthermore, the Chinese tend to think of themselves as linguistically different, not only in the different manner in which they use the languages used by the majority, but also in their use of "foreign" languages and forms from those languages. This follows one of the definitions of the linguistic community by Gumperz (cited in Hudson 1980:26), which describes it as

- ... any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language use.

(Gumperz 1968)<sup>6</sup>

### 3.2.2 Linguistic diversity in the Chinese community

Even if we take the Chinese of Pasuruan as a single linguistic community, it is still a fairly heterogeneous one. To begin with, several languages and language varieties (what is normally called "codes" in the literature) are used in the community. Most of the Chinese of Pasuruan speak a variety of Javanese and Malay/Indonesian as native speakers. The China-born Chinese speak their regional dialect; in Pasuruan I found speakers of Hokkien, Hakka, Cantonese, Hokchia (Fuqing), Hokchiu (Fuzhou) and Hinghwa. Some Totok Chinese also speak Mandarin because of their education in that language; most of these are Indonesia-born. China-born Chinese also speak Javanese and Malay/Indonesian with differing competence. Some Peranakan Chinese also speak Dutch because of their exposure to education in that language. In addition, these people often use forms from different languages when they speak. For example, one may find an utterance such as:

- (3) *dèqé itu alldóór xeséxten trèkken.*      (... aldoor gezichten trekken)  
*/he that always faces make/*  
*He always makes faces.*

with the first word in Javanese, the second in Malay/Indonesian and the rest in Dutch, pronounced with a Javanese intonation and with some Dutch sounds altered. This brings about a complex situation where the codes come into contact with one another and create numerous variations. Moreover, the different codes cannot in most cases be perceived as discrete entities; instead, some of them seem to form linguistic continua (see Bell 1976:135-136, citing DeCamp 1971:354) that often overlap (see Gumperz 1971b:208). As we shall see in later discussion, Javanese and Malay/Indonesian, for example, based on objective observations on their usage, will have to be regarded as forming a continuum. Thus, there are times that, say, it is not clear if an utterance is Javanese, Malay or Indonesian. In such a case, it is suggested that the linguist take into account all codes regardless of language names and genetic relationship. This approach is considered a promising one, since it relates language behaviour to the extralinguistic environment in which it operates and may thus give an insight into the relationship between social factors and linguistic phenomena (Gumperz 1971b:208). In the course of the present work, we shall see how social factors, in our case ethnic, subethnic and class identity, are reflected in different variations of language use in the Chinese community.

In the rest of this chapter, before going into the complexity of the linguistic variations in subsequent chapters, I intend to discuss the structure of the codes used in the community. An important part of the discussion will be how the codes differ from codes referred to by the same language name. For example, I will discuss how the Javanese used by the Chinese is different from that used by the Javanese themselves. Similarly, I will point out how the Mandarin used by the Chinese of Pasuruan, for example, is different from varieties of Mandarin used elsewhere. I will give a brief and general description of the phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon of the different codes. I will not discuss the functions of the different codes until the next chapter. Neither will I discuss the attitudes the members of the Chinese community and the majority community may have towards the different codes and towards the linguistic variations involved. These will be the subject of subsequent chapters.

In short, in the rest of this chapter I will only describe the linguistic or verbal repertoire of the Chinese of Pasuruan, i.e. "the totality of linguistic forms regularly employed within the community in the course of socially significant interaction" (Gumperz 1971d:182).

If one wants to make a generalisation about the linguistic repertoire of the Chinese community, one can fairly safely say that most Chinese in most situations use Javanese and/or Malay/Indonesian. The only two exceptions would be the China-born Chinese, who use their native Chinese dialect among themselves, and the very Westernised upper-class Peranakan Chinese, who use Dutch among themselves. However, even these people would find themselves in situations where they have to use Javanese and/or Malay/Indonesian. The China-born Chinese usually speak with a heavy accent, but the upper-class Peranakan Chinese do not, since they were usually born in a Javanese-speaking area and have spoken it since childhood. For that reason, I will begin the discussion of the formal features of the linguistic repertoire by describing those of Javanese and Malay/Indonesian, and then proceed to the discussion of the formal features of Hokkien, Hakka, Mandarin, and Dutch.

The variety of Javanese used by the Chinese community in many ways resembles that used by the Javanese themselves. However, there is a major difference worth mentioning here: Chinese only use the *Ngókó* level when speaking Javanese. Most of them understand the *Madyo* and *Kromo* levels, especially as these are used by lower-class Javanese when speaking to them. This is not to say that the concept of levels is alien to the Chinese community. Chinese do use levels of speech, albeit in a different way from that used by Javanese. Where among the Javanese the levels are all part of the same language, among the Chinese it is the use of Malay/Indonesian forms that indicates a more polite speech variant or a higher level, so to speak. For the upper-class Peranakan, the use of Javanese grammatical affixes and function words as well as a few roots from Javanese indicates low-level, non-polite speech. For the Totok and lower-class Peranakan, this level is manifested by the use of mostly Javanese forms with a very few Malay/Indonesian forms.<sup>7</sup>

Chinese also use Malay/Indonesian in many more situations than ethnic Javanese. The borderline between Malay and Indonesian is not always clear. Older people tend to call the code among Mlayu or *cara Mlayu Malay language*, while younger people, who have been educated in Indonesian, tend to call it *bahasa Indonesia Indonesian language*. As a matter of fact, Malay and Indonesian show many similarities, although there are enough differences to warrant considering them at least different varieties of the same language. However, when I refer to Malay and Indonesian without regard to their particular differences, I will label them Malay/Indonesian. In the course of this work, what I mean by *Malay* will be (1) the language used as a lingua franca in the archipelago up to the time it was standardised in the first half of this century and eventually adopted as the national language of Indonesia under the name *Indonesian*, and (2) the dialects of Malay spoken in various localities throughout the archipelago and elsewhere. In the case of the dialect with which we are concerned in this work, it can be termed *East Java Malay*.<sup>8</sup> It goes without saying that East Java Malay has been and is still part of the larger category called Malay in (1) above. Actually, Malay and Indonesian as used in East Java form a continuum. Structurally speaking, one finds at one extreme a variety with Javanese and Malay lexical items and Javanese grammatical items, then one with much fewer Javanese lexical items and many more Malay lexical items, but still with Javanese grammatical items, then one with few Javanese lexical items and Malay lexical and grammatical items, and finally at the other extreme, a variety with Indonesian lexical items and grammatical items. I will not go into the details of what constitutes the Malay elements of East Java Malay and what makes it different from Indonesian. I will do so in Sections 3.3.3.1, 3.3.5.1 and 4.3.2.

Mandarin is usually learned in Java, so most people speak it with a Javanised phonology.<sup>9</sup> Hokkien, Mandarin and Dutch forms are also used alongside those from Javanese and Malay/Indonesian.

### 3.3 STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTION OF THE CODES

#### 3.3.1 A note on methodology of linguistic analysis

In analysing my data to arrive at the description of the different codes used by my informants discussed here, I have used a purely Bloomfieldian approach. I believe this is justified given the fact that for the purposes of this work, such an approach is sufficiently adequate, and that this is not a study of the structure of the codes itself, but one on their functions in the community.

Thus, I have used minimal pairs and the technique of complementary distribution to arrive at the different phonemic inventories below. Similarly, I have determined morpheme and word boundaries by contrasting the morphemes and words in the different contexts in which they can be found. Syntactic structures are also determined in the same way.

#### 3.3.2 Phonology

##### 3.3.2.1 Javanese and Malay/Indonesian

Malay/Indonesian as spoken by the Chinese of East Java has been assimilated entirely to the Javanese phonology. Chinese pronounce Malay/Indonesian exactly as if it were Javanese: Malay/Indonesian phonemes are given the corresponding Javanese values and no phonemes or sequences which do not also occur in Javanese occur in their version of Malay/Indonesian. Thus, their variety of Malay/Indonesian is spoken with a definite Eastern Javanese phonology. Obviously this does not occur only in the Chinese community; ethnic Javanese also use the same variety of Malay/Indonesian in terms of the phonology. One can thus speak of a general phonemic inventory for Javanese and Malay/Indonesian. There are other foreign phonemes that are used by the community as a result of using forms from Chinese dialects and Dutch, i.e. in cases where the forms are not assimilated. In discussing the phonology of the linguistic repertoire of the Chinese community, I will thus begin by describing the phonemic inventory of Javanese and Malay/Indonesian. I will then proceed to the discussion of the foreign sounds found when people speak Chinese dialects or Dutch or when they use unassimilated forms from these codes. The reason for this is that except for the China-born Chinese, the rest of the Chinese community cannot be considered to speak Chinese dialects natively, and those who speak Dutch also speak it as a language that they have learned as part of their education. After that, I will describe the phonemic inventories of Hokkien and Hakka,<sup>10</sup> the only foreign languages spoken by native speakers in the community. Let us now look at the general phonemic inventory of the Chinese community on Chart 3.1 below.

Phonologically speaking, the Javanese and Malay/Indonesian used by the Chinese are basically similar to the varieties used by the rest of the community.<sup>11</sup> Thus, the phonological features that distinguish the dialect of Javanese used in the Pasuruan area are also found in the speech of the Chinese.<sup>12</sup> The difference lies in the fact that some phonemes are used with a different distribution or a higher phonemic load than others.

Some Chinese do not use the phoneme /t/ where Javanese would, whereas others use it instead of /t/ in many more words. For example, the Javanese word /tɔq/ is pronounced /tɔq/ by many Chinese. On the other hand, some Chinese replace /t/ with /t̚/ across the board, resulting in such forms as /pu̚t̚i/ for Malay/Indonesian /putih/ *white*.<sup>13</sup> This is also true with the phonemes /d/ and /d̚/. Some Chinese replace the phoneme /d/ with /d̚/ and also the other way around. For example, the Javanese word /duduq/ *not* is consistently pronounced /d̚u̚duq/ by some Chinese,

CONSONANTS	labial	apico- dental	apico- alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
fortis stops	p	t	<u>t</u>	c	k	ʔ
lenis stops	b	d	<u>d</u>	j	g	
(pharyngealised)						
prenasalised	mb	nd	ng	nj	ng	
voiced stops						
nasals	m	-	n	<u>n</u>	ŋ	
fortis	w	l	r,s	y	-	-
continuants						
lenis continuants	wh	lh	nh,rh	yh	-	h
(pharyngealised)						
sounds used in	f,mh			ś,ć,ǰ	x	
foreign loanwords						
VOWELS	front	central	back			
high	i		u			
mid	e		o			
low	ɛ	ə	ɔ			
very low		a				
sounds used in						
foreign loanwords						
high-rounded	ü					
high-unrounded		ɨ				
high-mid-rounded	ø					
mid-rounded	ø					
low-rounded	œ					
very low-non-	ææ	aa				
nasalised						
very low-nasalised		ã				
DIPHTHONGS						
ɛy	ɔw					
from other languages						
œœ	eeu	iiw	ooy	ay	ææy (aay)	aw
<p><i>Note on transcription: /ʔ/ is transcribed as q; /ng/ as ngg; /ŋ/ as ng; /e/ as é; /o/ as ó; /ɛ/ as è; /ə/ as e; and /ɔ/ as o. /ś/ is transcribed as sy; /ć/ as cy; and /ǰ/ as jy.</i></p>						
<p>‡ This chart is taken from that given in Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo (1982:3) for Javanese. The modification is based on analysis of my data, especially with regard to foreign loanwords, which their data do not have as extensively.</p>						

Chart 3.1: Javanese and Malay/Indonesian phonemic inventory

while the Malay/Indonesian word /dódóq/ *sit* is pronounced /dódóq/ by the same people. There is also a variation between /d/ and /d̥/ in the pronunciation of the Javanese prefix /di-/ 'passive marker' and the Malay/Indonesian prefix /di-/ 'passive marker', but I shall discuss this in more detail when I give a survey of the morphology of the repertoire. Thus we find the phonemes /t/ and /d/ used with a higher phonemic load by Chinese than they would ordinarily by Javanese.<sup>14</sup> Some Dutch-educated people pronounce final fortis stops, especially /t/ as [t̥], i.e. a released variant, even when not using Dutch forms.

Another distinguishing feature in the Javanese and Malay/Indonesian of the Chinese is the dropping or weakening of /h/ in final position. The Malay/Indonesian word /sudah/ *already*, for example, is often pronounced /suda/, except when it is really emphasised, when the /h/ is pronounced clearly.<sup>15</sup>

Certain phonemes are used with a higher phonemic load because of the use of forms from Chinese dialects and Dutch. The pharyngealised lenis continuants /wh/, /lh/, /nh/, /rh/ and /yh/ are all used in more forms than in Javanese or Malay/Indonesian as spoken by non-Chinese. One finds the use of Mandarin forms like /who/ 'first person pronoun' (wo<sup>24</sup> 我), /lhyang/ *two* (liang<sup>24</sup> 两), /nhengkó/ *able* (neng<sup>35</sup> gou 能够), /rhen/ *person* (ren<sup>35</sup> 人), and /yhu/ *exist* (you<sup>24</sup> 有). Interestingly enough, these are forms that in Mandarin are pronounced with the 35 or 214 tone. Forms with the other tones (55 and 51) are borrowed and assigned the non-pharyngealised fortis continuants or nasals. There are also Hokkien forms such as /whana/ *native, barbarian* (huan<sup>33</sup>a<sup>51</sup> 番仔), where the cluster /hw/ is changed into /wh/, /nheng/ *two* (nng<sup>33</sup> 二), and /ngoyhang/ *five spices* (ngo<sup>55</sup>hiang<sup>33</sup> 五香), where the cluster /hy/ is changed into /yh/.<sup>16</sup> Of the Dutch forms, one finds, for example, /whææxen/ *car* (wagen) and /yhongen/ *boy, boyfriend* (jongen).

A striking phenomenon in the linguistic repertoire of the Chinese community is the use of forms from other languages alongside Javanese and/or Malay/Indonesian forms. One cannot, strictly speaking, call this "code-switching", which is usually defined as the introduction of completely unassimilated forms from another language (cf. inter alia Haugen 1956:39), since the Chinese who use these foreign forms do not speak the languages from which the forms originate, or at least they do not speak them as native speakers of those languages. Nor can one even call it "code-switching", for the same reason. Thus, a large part of the utterances spoken by Chinese, both Peranakan and Totok, never consist of Javanese only or Malay/Indonesian only, but instead consist of forms from these codes and forms from Hokkien, Mandarin, and/or Dutch.

That was why in listing the phonemes in the phonemic inventory of Javanese and Malay/Indonesian I decided to include sounds from these other languages, since they form an integral part of the phonemic inventory of Chinese who were not born in China.<sup>17</sup>

In view of this, the separate discussions of the phonemic inventories of Hokkien, Hakka, Mandarin and Dutch that follow should be seen as a strategy to artificially separate the different inventories in order to make some sense out of the complex actual situation. As a matter of fact, the separate discussions can be justified in the light of speakers' perception of their phonemic inventories. Native speakers of the Chinese regional dialects obviously perceive them as different from Javanese and Malay/Indonesian. However, those who use Dutch or Mandarin turned out to do so, too. In that way, Dutch or Mandarin phonemes, however phonetically Javanese some of them may be, seemed to be perceived differently. This becomes more significant if we look at hearers' reactions to sounds from those codes.

## 3.3.2.2 Hokkien

Let us now look at the phonemic inventory of Hokkien, i.e. as it is used by the China-born Chinese as a native language, on Chart 3.2 below.<sup>18</sup> We will then look at how the inventory has been modified when people use Hokkien forms with a Javanese and Malay/Indonesian phonology.

Let us now see what happens phonologically to Hokkien forms used in the context of Javanese and Malay/Indonesian by non-native speakers of Hokkien. The immediately obvious change is the loss of Hokkien tones when forms are used in the Javanese and Malay/Indonesian contexts. When we compare the phonemic inventory of Hokkien on Chart 3.2 and that of Javanese and Malay/Indonesian on Chart 3.1, we notice that in Javanese and Malay/Indonesian there is a three-way opposition in the stops, i.e. that between the fortis stops, the lenis (pharyngealised) stops, and the prenasalised stops, while in Hokkien there is also a three-way opposition in the stops, i.e. that between the unaspirated voiceless stops, the aspirated voiceless stops, and the voiced stops. Aspiration in the Hokkien stops is manifested as pharyngealisation in Javanese and Malay/Indonesian, while voicing (and the lack of aspiration) is manifested as prenasalisation. In this way, we find Hokkien /p/, /t/, /c/ and /k/ remaining more or less the same (i.e. as Javanese and Malay/Indonesian fortis stops); while /p'/, /t'/, /c'/ and /k'/ are interpreted as /b/, /d/, /j/ and /g/; and /b/, /d/, /j/ and /g/ as /mb/, /nd/, /nj/ and /ngg/. For example, Hokkien /p'aq<sup>32</sup>/ 挞 *hit* is pronounced as /baq/ in Javanese and Malay/Indonesian, but /baq<sup>32</sup>/ 肉 *meat* is pronounced as /mbaq/. Although the Hokkien phoneme /l/ is phonetically closer to the pharyngealised /lh/ of Javanese and Malay/Indonesian, it is interpreted as the non-pharyngealised /l/.<sup>19</sup>

Moving to the vowels, we encounter the following situation: nasalisation is lost, except for that on /ã/ in the speech of some people. The nasal vowels are thus usually interpreted as oral vowels. For example, Hokkien /mĩ<sup>33</sup>/ 面 *noodle* is pronounced /mi/ in Javanese and Malay/Indonesian. In my data I do find forms such as /lumpyã/ (Hokkien /lun<sup>33</sup> piã<sup>51</sup>/ 轮饼 *spring roll* and /jyã/ (Hokkien /c'ia<sup>51</sup>/ 请) *invite* in the speech of some people. The /i/ and /u/ on-glides of the Hokkien finals are interpreted as /y/ and /w/ in Javanese and Malay/Indonesian. Thus, for example, Hokkien /bió<sup>33</sup>/ 庙 *temple* is pronounced /mbyó/, and /cui<sup>55</sup> mĩ<sup>33</sup>/ 水面 *boiled noodles* is pronounced /cwĩ mi/. Hokkien /hu-/ and /hi-/ , i.e. a /h/ initial followed by any final starting with /u/ or /i/, are interpreted as /wh/ and /yh/ in Javanese and Malay/Indonesian. For example, /huan<sup>33</sup> a<sup>51</sup>/ 番仔 *native, barbarian* is pronounced /whana/, and /hong<sup>11</sup> hiam<sup>51</sup>/ 风险 *dangerous* is pronounced /hongyham/. I did find a few people who in careful speech pronounce /hu-/ and /hi-/ as /hw-/ and /hy-/, but I suspect this is a result of reading pronunciation. Hokkien syllabic nasals /m/ and /ng/ are interpreted as /e/ plus the nasal, so that we find such forms as /m<sup>33</sup>/ 不 *not* being pronounced /em/ and /nng<sup>33</sup>/ 二 *two* as /neng/. Hokkien diphthongs /ai/ and /au/ are interpreted as Javanese and Malay/Indonesian /èy/ and /ow/. Thus, Hokkien /t'au<sup>33</sup> ke<sup>55</sup>/ 头家 *boss* is turned into /dowkè/. However, some people do use the diphthongs /ai/ and /au/, and would pronounce this word as /dawkè/.



INITIALS	bilabial		alveolar		alveo- palatal		velar		glottal				
voiceless stops													
unaspirated	p		t		c		k						
aspirated	p'		t'		c'		k'						
voiced stops	b		d		j		g						
nasals	m		n				ŋ						
continuants					s				h				
flap			l										
∅													
(∅ is included to take care of vowel-initial syllables; another consonant that only occurs in final position is the glottal stop /ʔ/.)													
FINALS													
i	a	ɔ	o	e	ai	au	am	an	aŋ	ioŋ	eŋ		
u	ia		io	ue	iau	iu	iam	im	ian	in	iaŋ	ioŋ	eŋ
ĩ	ũ	ã	õ	ẽ	ãi	ãu	ap		at	un	uaŋ		
ĩ	iã				iâu	iũ	iap	ip	iat	it	iak	ioŋ	ek
	uã				uãi	ũi			uat	ut			
	aʔ		oʔ	eʔ		auʔ							
iʔ	iaʔ		ioʔ		iauʔ								
uʔ	uaʔ			ueʔ		uiʔ							
	ãʔ	õʔ		ẽʔ									
ĩq	iãʔ				iâuʔ								
					uãiʔ								
m	ŋ												
l	ʃ												
SUMMARY OF VOWELS													
oral vowels		front		back									
high		i		u									
mid		e		o									
low		a		ɔ									
nasal vowels													
high		ĩ		ũ									
mid		ẽ		õ									
low		ã		õ									
TONES													
open syllables													
┌ 55    ʋ 24    ʌ 51    ˩ 11    ˥ 33													
closed syllables (rusheng ㄣ ㄜ)													
˩ 32    ˥ 5													
<p><i>Note on transcription:</i> In transcribing Hokkien forms in the original pronunciation, I will use the above symbols except for the following: /ŋ/ is transcribed as ng; /∅/ is not transcribed; /ʔ/ is transcribed as q; /o/ is transcribed as ɔ; and /ɔ/ is transcribed as o. In transcribing Hokkien forms pronounced with Javanese and Malay/Indonesian phonology, I use the system for transcribing forms from those codes (see Chart 3.1).</p>													
<p>‡ This chart is based on Beijing daxue etc. 1962:9-10; Luo 1956: 30-32; and Yuan 1960:243-244; with minimal adjustments and modifications based on analysis of data from my informants.</p>													

Chart 3.2: Hokkien phonemic inventory

### 3.3.2.3 Hakka

Let us now look at the phonemic inventory of Hakka on Chart 3.3 below.

The only Hakka forms used with Javanese and Malay/Indonesian phonology are personal names and kinship terms. Let us now see what happens phonologically to these forms. Tones are lost completely when Hakka forms are used in Javanese and Malay/Indonesian. The aspirated stops /p'/, /t'/, /c'/ and /k'/ are interpreted as the Javanese and Malay/Indonesian pharyngealised stops /b/, /d/, /j/ and /g/. For example, /p'o<sup>12</sup> p'o/ 婆婆 *grandma* is turned into /bobo/. The lenis continuant /v/ is interpreted as /wh/, and /y/ as /yh/. The syllabic nasals are interpreted as /e/ plus the nasals, so that /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/ come out as /em/, /en/ and /eng/.

The vowel /ɨ/ is interpreted as /é/, and so is the vowel /o/. The diphthongs /ai/ and /au/ are interpreted as /èy/ and /ow/. The on-glides /i-/ and /u-/ are interpreted as /y-/ and /w-/. For example, /a<sup>44</sup> k'iu<sup>44</sup>/ 阿舅 *maternal uncle* is turned into /a gyu/.

### 3.3.2.4 Hokkien and Hakka interference in Javanese and Malay/Indonesian

Native speakers of Hokkien and Hakka and other Chinese dialects use Javanese and Malay/Indonesian with different degrees of competence. I will only discuss interference from Hokkien and Hakka, since I only have data from speakers of these two codes and I assume that a similar interference occurs when speakers of other Chinese dialects use Javanese and/or Malay/Indonesian. The tendency is to use more Javanese forms than Malay/Indonesian forms. In some people there is also the tendency to use forms from Javanese or Malay/Indonesian where forms from the other code are expected. For example, one Hakka woman in her 70s produced this sentence:

- (4) sɨng iku suda p'éli mau.  
 /determiner that already buy earlier/  
*I already bought that one earlier.*

The incongruent forms in this sentence are /suda p'éli/, originally from Malay/Indonesian.<sup>20</sup> A Chinese native speaker of Javanese and Malay/Indonesian would say something like

- (5) séng iku wés tuku (or tuku) mau.

which is full Javanese, or

- (6) séng itu (or itu) suda (or suda) beli tadi (or tadi).

which is low-level Malay/Indonesian (indicated by the use of /séng/, originally a Javanese word), or

- (7) yang (or ñang) itu (or itu) suda (or suda) beli tadi (or tadi).

which is high-level Malay/Indonesian. In other words, our Hakka woman fails to "mix" the two codes appropriately. She uses Malay/Indonesian forms where she should use Javanese forms. Of course we can always look at it the other way around, i.e. that she fails to use Malay/Indonesian forms where she uses Javanese forms, but one expects her to speak in full Javanese, considering that the above sentence is spoken to a lower-class Javanese cake vendor.

INITIALS	labial	dento- alveolar	alveo- palatal	velar	glottal
stops					
unaspirated	p	t	c	k	
aspirated	p'	t'	c'	k'	
nasals	m	n	$\tilde{n}$	ŋ	
fortis					
continuant	f	s			h
lenis					
continuant	v		y		
flap		l			
∅					
(/∅/ is included in the list to account for vowel-initial syllables.)					
FINALS					
ɿ	a	ɛ	ɔ	ai	ɔi
i	ia			iai	
u	ua			uai	ui
am	em	om		an	en
iam		im		ian	ien
				uan	uen
ap	ep	op		at	et
iap		ip		iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				on	
				iun	ion
				un	uon
				ak	ok
				uak	uok
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen
				at	et
				iat	iet
				uat	uet
an				an	en
				ian	ien
				uan	uen

When a native speaker of a Chinese dialect speaks in Javanese or Malay/Indonesian, s/he uses a certain tone from that dialect on the syllable with the sentence stress on it in the sense that the syllable is pronounced with a tone different from the expected intonation pattern. Curiously, the one tone used is the 24 tone in the case of Hokkien speakers and the 11 tone in the case of Hakka speakers.<sup>21</sup> Let us return to the example of our Hakka woman above. She pronounces the sentence in example (4) with the 11 tone on the syllable /p'é/. The rest of the sentence she pronounced with a neutral tone. A native speaker of Javanese and Malay/Indonesian uses a high pitch on the same syllable because of the sentence stress.

Javanese and Malay/Indonesian lenis stops are interpreted as Hokkien voiced stops and Hakka aspirated stops, such that /b/, /d/, /d/, /j/ and /g/ are turned into Hokkien /b/, /d/, /j/ and /g/ and Hakka /p'/, /t'/, /c'/ and /k'/. The prenasalised stops /mb/, /nd/, /nd/, /nj/ and /ngg/ are interpreted as voiced stops /b/, /d/, /j/ and /g/ in Hokkien and as the aspirated stops /p'/, /t'/, /c'/ and /k'/ in Hakka. In addition, the distinction between the apico-dental and apico-alveolar stops is blurred, resulting in Hokkien dental stops and Hakka dento-alveolar stops. Thus, /t/ and /t/ as well as /d/ and /d/ are collapsed into Hokkien /t/ and /d/ and Hakka /t/ and /t'/. For example, the Javanese and Malay/Indonesian form /dodol/ *a delicacy made of sticky rice and cane sugar* is turned into Hokkien as /dodõn/ and into Hakka as /t'ot'on/, where the /d/ is dental in Hokkien and the /t'/ dento-alveolar in Hakka.<sup>22</sup> We saw earlier how the Malay/Indonesian word /beli/ *buy* is turned into /p'éli/ in Hakka. In Hokkien phonology it will be turned into /béli/, where the /b/ is not pharyngealised as in the original pronunciation.

The Javanese and Malay/Indonesian /ñ/ is interpreted as /nĩ-/ in Hokkien. For example, /ñoña/ *Mrs, lady* is turned into /nĩõnĩã/. Notice that vowels in the environment of nasals are redundantly nasalised by Hokkien speakers.

The phoneme /r/ does not exist either in Hokkien or in Hakka, so that speakers of both codes tend to replace it with their /l/. For example, Javanese /larang/ *expensive* is turned into /lalãng/ in Hokkien and /lalang/ in Hakka. None of Hokkien and Hakka initials are consonant clusters; because of that, Javanese and Malay/Indonesian consonant clusters have a vowel inserted between the first and second consonants. The vowel is usually a schwa-like sound, i.e. a vowel that is produced when the mouth is opening in a relaxed way. For example, the word /kraton/ *royal palace, name of a town near Pasuruan* is rendered /kalatõn/ in Hokkien and /kalaton/ in Hakka. The Javanese and Malay/Indonesian phoneme /s/, when in final position, does not have a counterpart in Hokkien and Hakka, since no syllable finals in these two codes end in /s/. As a result, syllables ending in /s/ are usually turned into ones ending in /t/, such that we find forms like /belãntat/ in Hokkien and /p'elantat/ in Hakka, originating from /brantas/ *name of a river in East Java*. In general, final consonants that do not occur in Hokkien or Hakka are rendered as the closest homorganic consonants that do occur in these Chinese dialects.

### 3.3.2.5 Mandarin

Let us now turn our attention to Mandarin as it is used in the Chinese community in Pasuruan. One should keep in mind the fact that these people learn Mandarin in school or at home as a second language. Since a majority of them are native speakers of Javanese and Malay/Indonesian, the phonology of the variant of Mandarin is distinctively influenced by Javanese and Malay/Indonesian.

In addition, the model they imitate when learning it is the variant spoken in southern China, so that again the Mandarin has a decidedly southern accent. I will first give the phonemic inventory below, and then proceed to the discussion of what it is that makes this variant of Mandarin phonologically so. I will cite relevant forms to illustrate how Mandarin forms are pronounced by the Chinese of Pasuruan.

If we paid attention to what happened to Hakka aspirated stops earlier, i.e. when forms are used with Javanese and Malay/Indonesian phonology, we can expect the same phenomenon to occur to Mandarin aspirated stops. In this variety of Mandarin, the opposition is not between unaspirated vs. aspirated stops, but between fortis (non-pharyngealised) stops vs. lenis (pharyngealised) stops. Thus, the word tang<sup>51</sup> [t'ang] 燙 *burn, have one's hair permed* is interpreted as /dang/. The three-way distinction between dental, palatal, and retroflex stops and fricatives is neutralised, so that the initial z [ts], j [tɕ], zh [tʂ]; c [ts'], g [tɕ'], ch [tʂ']; and s [s], x [ɕ], sh [ʂ] are interpreted as /c/, /j/ and /s/ respectively. The fricative h [x] is interpreted as /h/. The retroflex r [ʐ] is interpreted as a trilled /r/ or /rh/.

The diphthong finals ei [e<sup>1</sup>] and ou [o<sup>u</sup>] are monophthongised into /é/ and /ó/. ou is also turned into /u/ after the on-glide i. Thus, a form like gou<sup>51</sup> [ko<sup>u</sup>] 够 *enough* is turned into /kó/, but jiu<sup>24</sup> [tɕio<sup>u</sup>] 九 *nine* is turned into /cyu/. ü [y] is always interpreted as /i/. Since the phonology of Mandarin as spoken by the Indonesian-born Chinese in the Pasuruan community is in large part that of Javanese and Malay/Indonesian, the phonemes /e/, which has two allophones [e] and [ɛ], and /o/, which also has two allophones [o] and [ɔ], can be regarded as split into two phonemes each according to Javanese and Malay/Indonesian phonology. (See the note on transcription on Chart 3.4 below.) The diphthongs ai [a<sup>1</sup>] and ao [a<sup>u</sup>] are sometimes interpreted as /èy/ and /ow/ respectively. I do find the alternant, original, pronunciation as /ay/ and /aw/ also. There is also another variation between /+/ and /e/. We will look into these variations in more detail in the next chapter. The final /-uo/ is turned into a plain /-o/ in some words, such as in /tó/ (duo<sup>55</sup> [t<sup>u</sup>ɔ] 多 *many, much*) and in /coq/ (zuo<sup>51</sup> [ts<sup>u</sup>ɔ] 做 *do*). The final /-e/ is often turned into /-o/ in certain words, such as in /kó/ (ge [kə] 个 'general classifier'). The on-glides /i-/ and /u-/ are interpreted as /y-/ or /yh-/ and /w-/ or /wh-/ depending on the original tone (see the discussion on tones below for an explanation of this alternation). The off-glides /-i/ and /-u/ are similarly interpreted as /-y/ and /-w/.

When listing the finals in this variety of Mandarin, I should have drawn another list with all the finals ending in /-q/, but I thought it would be cumbersome to do so, since all the finals can be found with the /-q/ ending in certain forms. The forms with the /-q/ finals reflect a historical phenomenon in Chinese dialects, since these forms have cognates in Hokkien with the tones for closed syllables (the rusheng). For example, the word guo<sup>35</sup> [k<sup>u</sup>ɔ] 国 *country* is turned into /kwoq/; the Hokkien cognate is /kok<sup>32</sup>/.

A lot of people, when speaking Mandarin, do not use the original Mandarin tones, but instead use Javanese and Malay/Indonesian intonation. Some of the more educated people speak with the expected tones. However, I find some informants among those who do not normally retain tones who do retain the use of the 214 tone.<sup>23</sup> In addition, I also observe an interesting phenomenon that happens to words which originally have the 35 and 214 tones. Such forms, when they have continuant initials, always have the lenis (pharyngealised) continuants. Thus, one can almost say that if one looks into the original tones on those forms, the opposition between the fortis and lenis continuants (except in the case of /f/) are only allophonic. This should also explain the alternation

INITIALS	labial	apico-dental	palatal	velar	glottal
fortis stops	p	t	c	k	ʔ
lenis stops (pharyngealised)	b	d	j	g	
fortis nasals	m	n		ŋ	
lenis nasals	mh	nh		ŋh	
fortis continuants	f,w	l,r,s	y		
lenis continuants	wh	lh,rh	yh		h

FINALS											
ɿ	ə	a	o	e	ai(ei)	au(ou)	an	ən	aŋ	əŋ	oŋ
i		ia	io	ie		iau(iou)	ien	in	iaŋ	iŋ	ioŋ
u		ua	uo	ue	uai(uei)		uan	uen	uaŋ		

SUMMARY OF VOWELS			
	front	central	back
high	i	ɿ	u
mid	e	ə	o
low		a	

TONE

✓ 214

Note on transcription: /ʔ/ is transcribed as q; /ŋ/ as ng; /e/ as either é or è; /ə/ as e; and /o/ as either ó or o (for this allophonic alternation, see the discussion below). The on-glides /i/ and /u/ are transcribed as either y or yh and w or wh respectively (again, see the discussion below for this alternation). As off-glides they are transcribed as y and w respectively.

---

‡ The phonemic inventory on this chart is based on my analysis of the Mandarin forms used by informants. I checked it against the description of Mandarin phonology in Cheng 1973.

Chart 3.4: Mandarin phonemic inventory

between /y-/ and /yh-/ and /w-/ and /wh-/ mentioned earlier. I also found one informant who pharyngealises (and thus voices) her stops when she uses the ✓ 214 tone. Thus, instead of saying /cóng/ (zhong<sup>214</sup> 种 kind, type), she says /jóng/. This may be her personal peculiarity, but at least her overgeneralisation is phonologically explicable.

### 3.3.2.6 Dutch

In some ways Dutch plays a role similar to that of Mandarin. For one thing, Dutch was also the language of education, which means that the Peranakan Chinese who speak Dutch learned it at school or from people who went to Dutch-medium schools. Like speakers of Mandarin, speakers of Dutch basically use the phonology of Javanese and Malay/Indonesian, although a few Dutch phonemes are used. Let us first look at the phonemic inventory of Dutch as spoken by the Chinese of Pasuruan. Next, I will discuss the peculiarities in the phonology of this variety of Dutch.

Let us now examine the peculiarities of this variety of Dutch, which resulted from the fact that the language or forms from it are used by native speakers of Javanese and Malay/Indonesian. The fortis stop /t/ is pronounced dentally, while the lenis stop /d/ is pronounced alveolarly; in Dutch the articulatory point for both of them can be described as dento-alveolar. It is not surprising that the two sounds are assigned two sounds from the four-way distinction of /t/, /t̪/, /d/, /d̪/ found in Javanese. All the lenis stops are also pharyngealised, resulting in [bh], [dh] and [ʃh]. The opposition between /f/ and /v/, /s/ and /z/, /ʃ/ and /ž/, and /x/ and /ɣ/ in Dutch is lost completely. Thus, words like *vader* [vædər] *father* is pronounced /fædər/ or /faɖər/, and *zacht* [zaxt] *soft* is pronounced /saxt/.

Dutch phrases or even whole sentences are often pronounced with a Javanese and Malay/Indonesian intonation. Nevertheless, it is remarkable how the syllable structure of Dutch, which (as one would expect) is very different from that of Javanese and Malay/Indonesian, is learned correctly by these people. For example, in Javanese and Malay/Indonesian phonology, one does not find syllables ending in consonant clusters such as /-Ct/ and /-Cs/. However, one does find people who were educated in Dutch-medium schools who are able to pronounce such clusters without difficulty. Another fairly remarkable fact is the retention of all the Dutch vowels that one does not find in Javanese and Malay/Indonesian.<sup>24</sup>

### 3.3.3 Morphology and morphophonology

It is not my intention here to give a complete description of the morphology and morphophonology of the codes in the repertoire of the Pasuruan Chinese. I will merely try to highlight the features that mark the different codes as peculiar to these people. For a more thorough description of the grammar of Javanese and Malay/Indonesian spoken by the Chinese in East Java, see the works by Rafferty (1978, Chapter II) and Kartomihardjo (1981:54-86).

#### 3.3.3.1 Javanese and Malay/Indonesian morphology

Javanese affixes are used even when the base is from another language; Malay/Indonesian affixes are also used.<sup>25</sup> Thus, one finds /-é ~ -né/ used, but also /-ña/, a Malay/Indonesian form which has analogous functions. As a matter of fact, one variety of what I call Malay in the present work has as its most striking feature the use of Javanese grammatical morphemes alongside lexical morphemes of Malay or Indonesian provenience. Another variety uses more Malay or Indonesian grammatical morphemes. For example, one finds forms such as

CONSONANTS	labial	apico-dental	apico-alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
fortis stops	p	t		č	k	ʔ
lenis stops (pharyngealised)	b		d	ǰ		
nasals	m		n	ñ	ŋ	
fortis	f	l	r, s	š	x	
continuants						
lenis	wh			yh		h
continuants (pharyngealised)						
VOWELS						
	front		central	back		
	unrounded	rounded				
high	i	ü		u		
high-mid	ɪ	ø				
mid	e	ø		o		
low	ɛ	æ		ɔ		
very low	æ		a			

*Note:* /i/ and /u/ are pronounced [ii] and [uu] before /r/. /ü/, /e/, /ø/, /o/ and /æ/ are always long. /æ/ is only found in the diphthong /œ/. Some people replace /æ/ by /a/. Length is phonemic for /a/.

DIPHTHONGS

œ    ɛi    oi    æi(aai)    eu    iu    ou

*Note on transcription:* /č/, /ǰ/ and /š/ are transcribed as cy, jy, sy respectively. /ɪ/ is transcribed as é, while /e/ is transcribed as éé. /ɛ/ is transcribed as è; long /a/ is transcribed as aa; when /i/ and /u/ are long, they are transcribed as ii and uu. /o/ is transcribed as óó; /ɔ/ as o. /ü/ and /ø/ are transcribed as üü and øø. /æ/ is also transcribed as ææ. All this over-differentiation in transcription is necessary to show how the phonology of the Dutch is different from the general phonology of Javanese and Malay/Indonesian. The off-glides /i/ and /u/ are transcribed in the way they are transcribed in Javanese and Malay/Indonesian, i.e. as -y and -w. Thus, /ɛi/ is transcribed as èy; /oi/ as óóy; /æi/ as æy; /aai/ as aay; /eu/ as ééw; /iu/ as iiw; and /ou/ as ow.

---

‡ The phonemic inventory on this chart is based on my analysis of the Dutch forms used by my informants. I checked it against the description of Dutch phonology in Eijkman 1937, Kruisinga 1949, and Blancquaert 1957.

Chart 3.5: Dutch phonemic inventory



- (8) *taq=cariq=no*  
*/I=look-for=benefactive-marker/*  
*I [will] look for [it] [for you, someone else]*

where */taq-/* and */-no/* are Javanese grammatical morphemes, and */cariq/* is a Malay lexical morpheme, as well as

- (9) *saya=cariq=ken*

(of the same meaning) where */saya-/* and */-ken/* are Malay grammatical morphemes, and even

- (10) *saya=cari=kan*

where the use of */-kan/* (as opposed to */-ken/*) and */cari/* (instead of */cariq/*) makes it an Indonesian word. On Table 3.1 below are listed the Javanese affixes used by the Chinese; in addition, their Malay/Indonesian counterparts are also given.

Table 3.1: Javanese and Malay/Indonesian affixes

JAVANESE	MALAY/INDONESIAN	
<i>taq-</i>	<i>saya-</i>	<i>I</i>
<i>mboq-</i>	--	<i>you</i>
<i>N-</i>	<i>meN-</i>	active marker
<i>di-</i>	<i>di-</i>	passive marker
<i>Ø</i>	<i>ber-</i>	stative marker
<i>ke-</i>	<i>ter-</i>	accidental passive marker
<i>-é ~ -né</i>	<i>-ña</i>	possessive etc. marker
<i>-no ~ -qno</i>	<i>-ken/-kan</i>	causative etc. marker
<i>-i ~ -ni</i>	<i>-i</i>	locative marker
<i>-o</i>	--*	imperative marker
<i>-en ~ -nen</i>	--*	imperative marker
<i>-w-</i>	--*	intensifier
*There are no comparable forms for these in Malay/Indonesian. Constructions with similar functions will be discussed in the text.		

I should mention briefly here that Malay/Indonesian forms are generally used to signify politeness and/or formality between the speaker and the interlocutor in the Chinese community. Thus, the Malay/Indonesian forms in Table 3.1 are inevitably connected with speaking politely or formally, keeping a distance with the interlocutor and so forth. It is as a function of this sociolinguistic etiquette that a plethora of terms of address, including kinship terms, and second-person pronouns from the different codes are used to signify politeness, whereas in neutral speech the Javanese proclitic */mboq-/* is used.

The Javanese active marker */N-/* is realised in one of four ways: (1) as a nasal homorganic with a lenis initial in the base forms, (2) as */nge-/* before a monosyllabic base form, (3) as a homorganic nasal replacing a fortis initial in the base forms (except that */ñ-/* replaces */s/*), (4) as */Ø/* before base forms starting with nasals, or (5) as */ng-/* otherwise. The */N/* in the Malay/Indonesian

active marker /meN-/ is realised like the /N-/ in Javanese, with the following exceptions: (1) as a homorganic nasal before base forms from a foreign language, (2) as /n/ before /c/-initial base forms, or (3) as /Ø/ before base forms starting with /l/, /r/, /w/ and /y/.

There is an alternation in the use of the passive marker /di-/ (the standard Javanese passive prefix) and /ɖi-/ (the standard Malay/Indonesian passive prefix) as used by Chinese. In a way this can be looked at as a function of the alternation between apico-dental /d/ and apico-alveolar /ɖ/ which I mentioned earlier (Section 3.3.2.1). However, it can also be considered a function of the perception by the Chinese that Javanese and Malay/Indonesian form a continuum. Since Javanese grammatical affixes, function words, and in certain varieties also Javanese lexical items are used alongside forms from Malay/Indonesian, it is understandable that the alternation occurs. From my observation, some Javanese also use /di-/ instead of /ɖi-/ when speaking Indonesian, but they do so across the board. We shall see the sociolinguistic significance of this alternation in greater detail in Section 4.5.2.

Through interference from Javanese, the Indonesian causative marker /-kan/ is pronounced as /-ken/, except in the speech of Indonesian-educated people in the most formal situations. The locative marker /-i/ is used more widely in the Malay/Indonesian of the Chinese than in the variety spoken by (especially educated) non-Chinese. This is again interference from Javanese, which happens to have a marker with the same form and meaning.

To signify politeness, words such as /tólóng/ *help, please* or /cobaq/ *try, please* and/or the passive imperative is used. Thus, the polite equivalent of /sini=o/ (*here=imperative-marker*) *come here* is /tólóng sini/ or /cobaq sini/. Similarly, the polite equivalent of /ini ambiq=en/ (*this take=imperative-marker*) *take this* is /ini tólóng ambé/ or /ini tólóng ɖi=ambé/ and so forth.

Although Malay/Indonesian obviously has intensifier words, such as /skali/, /sanget/, /bener/ and other forms meaning *very* or *really*, these forms are not the only polite equivalent of the Javanese intensifier infix. Indeed, the intensifier infix /-w-/ is of high frequency, even when people speak Malay/Indonesian.

### 3.3.3.2 Javanese morphophonology

Let us now look at some morphophonological processes. I found a case of form alternation in the use of the Javanese suffix /-é ~ -né/ 'possessive pronoun, third person; nominaliser; determiner'. The rule in standard Javanese is to use /-né/ when the base ends in a vowel (or for some people also when it ends in a glottal stop), and /-é/ elsewhere. In my data I found many instances where Chinese use /-é/ where /-né/ is expected, although the same speakers may also use /-né/ from time to time. Thus, sometimes I found forms such as /cara=é/ (*way=determiner*) *the way* and /cara=né/ used alternately. A similar alternation is /-en ~ -nen/ 'imperative marker' with the same distribution as /-é ~ -né/. Again, in the speech of many Chinese I found /-en/ used where /-nen/ is expected. Thus, I found /baca=en/ (*read=imperative-marker*) *read [it]* and /baca=nen/ used alternately, sometimes by the same speakers. A similar alternation is between /-i/ and /-ni/ 'locative marker'. I found the alternation of forms like /crita=i/ (*story=locative-marker*) *tell [someone] a story* and /crita=ni/, sometimes in the speech of the same speaker.

The high vowels /i/ and /u/ are lowered to /è/ and /o/ respectively when they are in a final syllable in a suffixed base form of Javanese provenience. For example, from /mari/ *ready* and /sapu/ *broom*, *sweep* one gets /marè=qno/ *make ready*, *finish* and /sapo=qno/ *sweep for someone else*. However, this rule is optionally applied by the Chinese. Thus, they also say /mari=qno/ and /sapu=qno/, for example. An analogous raising process occurs when base forms containing one or more /é/ and /ó/ are given suffixes beginning with a vowel. The /é/ and /ó/ are raised to /i/ and /u/ respectively. Thus, from the base forms /pékér/ *think* and /dódóq/ *sit* we get such forms as /ke-pikir-an/ *worried*, *troubled* and /duduq-o/ *sit down* (i.e. as an imperative). However, again some Chinese often keep the original base forms without raising the /é/ and /ó/.

In general, one can draw the conclusion that the Chinese do not follow the Javanese morphophonological rules all the time. For the Javanese they are categorical, whereas for the Chinese they are optional.

### 3.3.3.3 Dutch morphology

It is interesting to observe the way Dutch forms are used in the speech of the Chinese who alternate these forms with Javanese and Malay/Indonesian forms.

I found that agreement of modifying adjectives with head nouns is strictly observed. Thus, /xróót/ (groot) *large*, *big* is realised as /xróóte/ in /de xróóte k~~æ~~mer/ (determiner *large* room) (de grote kamer) *the large room*, to make /xróót/ agree with /k~~æ~~mer/. Also, I found the inflection of adjectives for neuter nouns observed as well. For example, I found people using the inflected forms /et dékke buk/ (determiner *thick* book) (het dikke boek) *the thick book* and /en dék buk/ (*a thick book*) (een dik boek) *a thick book*. This is of course not true in the case of those people who confuse the gender of nouns. There are people, usually with little Dutch-medium education, who use the determiner /de/ (de) when /et/ (het) is expected, thus saying /de buk/ instead of /et buk/.

When it comes to verbal inflection, however, the distribution of forms is not so neat: I found interesting alternations. I found verbs used in the infinitive form as well as inflected, even in the speech of the same person. I found, for example, the following phrase:

- (11) orang=é séng bet~~æ~~al=en                      (... betalen)  
       /person=determiner relative-clause-marker pay=infinitive-marker/  
       *the person who paid*

where the Dutch verb /bet~~æ~~al= (betalen) *to pay* is not inflected for person or tense. However, I also found the same speaker, at a different time, saying

- (12) h~~è~~y hééft te g~~ü~~ür bet~~æ~~al=t                      (hij heeft te duur betaald)  
       /he has too expensive pay=past-participle-marker/  
       *he has paid too much*

in basically perfect Dutch, observing even the tense and person inflection of the verbs. I will not go into the grammar of code switching here, but it is fairly clear that there are rules governing when Dutch forms are inflected and when they are not.

Similarly, in a stretch of conversation of about 15 seconds I found the two forms /æet=x~~e~~=stüür=t/ (out=past-participle-circumfix=send) (uitgestuurd) and /di=æet=stüür=en/ ([Malay/Indonesian] passive-marker=out=send=infinitive-marker)

(di-uitsturen), both meaning *to be sent out*. In the first form one finds a well-formed Dutch word, whereas in the second form one finds a Malay/Indonesian prefix to indicate passiveness, and the Dutch verb is in the infinitive form.

### 3.3.4 Syntax

#### 3.3.4.1 Syntactic interference from Javanese

Javanese and Malay/Indonesian have very similar syntactic structures. Nevertheless, one does find a few peculiarities in the Malay/Indonesian of natives of Javanese-speaking areas like Pasuruan. One of these, which is also shared by the Chinese, is the use of the suffix /-ña/ 'possessive marker' between the noun (phrase) which is possessed and that which possesses. For example, in standard Indonesian one would say

- (13) bècaq mat  
       /*pedicab mat*/  
       *Mat's pedicab*

but the influence of Javanese syntactic structures makes one say

- (14) bècaq=ña mat  
       /*pedicab=possessive-marker mat*/  
       *Mat's pedicab*

In the case of what I call Malay as used by the Chinese, of course the use of /-é ~ -né/, the Javanese cognate of /-ña/ is not a striking peculiarity since it is a Javanese morpheme to begin with.

Another syntactic process which is more the peculiarity of Chinese speakers of Malay/Indonesian is the addition of the Javanese suffix /-an/ 'topicalisation marker' to a function word when it is placed at the end of a constituent instead of at the beginning. Instead of the sentence

- (15) mè s=taón yhan ndéq sana.  
       /*almost a=year yhan in there*/  
       *Yhan was there for almost a year.*

one can obtain a slightly different version by inverting the position of /mè/ and /s-taón/, resulting in

- (16) s=taón mè=an yhan ndéq sana.  
       /*a=year almost=topicalisation-marker yhan in there*/  
       *It was almost a year that Yhan was there.*

In standard Indonesian mere inversion is enough to signify the topicalisation involved. Thus, the following sentence is grammatical:

- (17) se=taón hampér yhan di sana.  
       /*a=year almost yhan in there*/  
       *It was almost a year that Yhan was there.*

whereas in Malay the use of /mè/ only in the position of /hampér/ above is unacceptable to native speakers. As a result, one can find Chinese speakers of Indonesian saying /se-taón hampir-an/<sup>26</sup> and so on when speaking Indonesian.

### 3.3.4.2 Syntactic interference from Chinese dialects

One also finds in the Malay/Indonesian of some Chinese speakers the use of a syntactic structure which is based on a similar structure in Chinese dialects. In standard Indonesian the structure to use when one wants to signify that Noun<sub>1</sub> belongs to Noun<sub>2</sub> is

Noun<sub>1</sub> + Noun<sub>2</sub>

such as in /majikan nah/ (*employer nah*) *Nah's employer*. An alternative way of expressing the same grammatical construction in Malay and in the colloquial Indonesian of some speakers is the structure

Noun<sub>2</sub> + puña + Noun<sub>1</sub>

which would make the example just mentioned into /nah puña majikan/ (*nah possessive-marker employer*) *Nah's employer*. Now in Hokkien, from which many of the influences on the Malay/Indonesian of the Chinese derive, there is a similar syntactic structure, namely

Noun<sub>2</sub> e<sup>33</sup> (的) Noun<sub>1</sub>

such as in the phrase /hok<sup>55</sup> k'i<sup>11</sup> e<sup>33</sup> c'ia<sup>55</sup>/ (*hok k'i* possessive-marker *car* 福气的车) *Hok K'i's car*. However, besides functioning as a possessive marker, /e<sup>33</sup>/ is also used in other syntactic structures, namely

Adjective + e<sup>33</sup> + Noun

to signify that the adjective modifies the noun, such as in /sin<sup>55</sup> e<sup>33</sup> c'ia<sup>55</sup>/ (*new e<sup>33</sup> car* 新的车) *new car* and

Adjective + e<sup>33</sup>

to signify a nominalised adjective, such as in /sin<sup>55</sup> e<sup>33</sup>/ (*new e<sup>33</sup>*) to mean *a new one* or *the new one*. In this way the Chinese extend the Malay/Indonesian syntactic structure Noun<sub>2</sub> + puña + Noun<sub>1</sub> into Adjective + puña + Noun and Adjective + puña. As a result, in the speech of some Chinese one finds phrases such as /bagus puña barang/ (*good puña merchandise*) *good merchandise* or just plain /bagus puña/ *a good one*.<sup>27</sup>

### 3.3.4.3 Syntactic structure of Dutch forms

Earlier, I mentioned what happened to the morphology of Dutch forms used by the Chinese alongside Javanese and Malay/Indonesian forms. It is also interesting to see that if the verb is in the infinitive or in the past participle, and it has an object, the word order is usually Object + Verb. We already saw such a structure in example (3) above, where the phrase /xeséxten trèkken/ (*gezichten trekken*) *to make faces* has the object /xeséxten/ *faces* before the verb /trèkken/ *to draw*. In most cases, when the subject of the sentence is not in Dutch, people use the infinitive form of the verb and prepose the object. However, one does find the word order Verb + Object when the verb is inflected, mostly when the subject is a Dutch form. For example, one may find a sentence like

(18) sèy trèkt xeséxten terós.  
/she draws faces always/  
She always makes faces.

(zij trekt gezichten ...)

Although there is the Javanese or Malay/Indonesian form /terós/, the rest of the sentence is in accordance with Dutch word order.

It is also possible, however, to find this word order even if the subject is not in Dutch, such as (19):

- (19) anaq=é cwan sin itu ferkóópt klééren (... verkoopt kleren)  
 /child=possessive-marker cwan sin that sells clothes/  
 Cwan Sin's son/daughter sells clothes.

The subject in this sentence /anaq-é cwan sin itu/ is in Malay, while the predicate is in Dutch.

### 3.3.4.4 Syntax of Chinese dialects

Nothing special is found in the syntax of Chinese dialects as spoken by the China-born Chinese. Forms from Chinese dialects and Mandarin used alongside Javanese and Malay/Indonesian are always used with the original word order. This non-occurrence of interference is attributable to the fact that most syntactic structures in Chinese dialects and Javanese and Malay/Indonesian are quite similar. Where the structure in Chinese dialects is different, phrases are used in their entirety, thus treated as unbreakable units. For example, the Mandarin phrase /piq-cyow cyu/ (*rather long*) (bijiao jiu 比较久 *rather long*) happens to have the same word order as the Javanese /rodoq sué/ (*rather long*) or the Malay/Indonesian /agaq lama/ (*rather long*). As such, they are freely interchangeable, such as in (20) and (21):

- (20) nèq slayt piq-cyow cyu.  
 /if slide rather long/  
 Slides take rather long [to do].

- (21) nèq slayt rodoq sué.

However, the phrase /how leq/ (*good change-of-status-marker*) (hao le 好了) *finished, ready* has a different word order from the Javanese phrase with the same meaning, for example, i.e. /wěs mari/ (*already finished*). In this case, the original Mandarin word order is retained.

### 3.3.5 Lexicon

The Chinese of Pasuruan use words that are not used by other groups in the area, or use ones that are used differently by the other groups.

#### 3.3.5.1 Javanese and Malay/Indonesian lexical items

Many Javanese words are used in speaking Malay. In fact, as I mentioned earlier, it is the use of Javanese and Malay/Indonesian words alongside one another that marks the dialect I refer to as East Java Malay in this work. These words are usually function words, such as /wěs/ *already*, /séq/ *still*, /nèq/, /naq/ or /lèq/ *if*, /mèq/ *only*, /piro/ *how much, how many*, /ndéq/ *in, at, on*, /séng/ 'relative clause marker', /to/ *isn't it*, /ta/ *shall I, shall we*, /a/ *is it*

and a few others. Except for the last three words, which are often used even when people speak Indonesian, they can all be replaced by forms of Malay/Indonesian provenience to raise the level of speech into a more polite, formal level. These Malay/Indonesian equivalents are, respectively, /sudah/ (in various fast-speech forms where either the /u/ or the /h/ or both are not pronounced; also with a dental /d/); /masiq/, /misiq/, /masih/, /misihi/; /kalow/, /kalóq/, /kaloq/; /cumaq/; /brapa/; /di/; /yang/, /ñang/.

What is also interesting is the occurrence of forms that are not used by other groups in the area, unless of course they have frequent contacts with the Chinese and learn Javanese and Malay/Indonesian as used by the Chinese. These include words such as /bóq/ *don't* (probably of Hokkien origin, but not used in Hokkien as far as I know), /gi/ *to* (which could be interpreted as a shortened form of /pigi/ *go* or as derived from the Hokkien verb /k'i<sup>14</sup>/ 去 *go*), /belón/ *not yet* (most other people say /belóm/; the Minangkabau cognate is /balun/ and the Betawi Malay, /belon/), /ambéq/ *take* (most other people say /ambél/; the form does exist in other dialects of Malay/Indonesian elsewhere; it should not be confused with the Javanese /ambéq/ meaning *with, and*), /ntiq/ *later on* (an abbreviated form of /nantiq/ in standard Malay/Indonesian), /sóq pagi/ *tomorrow* (the constituents originally mean *tomorrow morning*; to say *tomorrow morning* Chinese speakers say /sóq pagi pagi/, repeating the word for *morning*); /keja/ *for* (a calque from the Javanese /gaé/ using the Malay word *kerja*); /yaq-apa/ or /kyaq-apa/ *how* (a Malayisation of the Javanese /yoq-opo/ or /koyoq opo/); /apaq-o/ *why* (a Malayisation of the Javanese /opoq-o/); and some others.

Even when speaking Javanese, some Chinese use forms from Malay/Indonesian, which distinguish the Javanese variety from that spoken by ethnic Javanese in the area. These include words like /lebih/ *more* (standard Javanese /luwéh/); /kerjo/ *work* (standard Javanese /ñambót gaé/); /jual/ *sell* (standard Javanese /dodol/); /byoso/ *normal, usual* (standard Javanese /byasa/; /byoso/ is an attempt at over-Javanising the word); /pernah/ *ever, once* (standard Javanese /tau/); /kota/ *city, town* (standard Javanese /kuṭo/); /tau/ *know* (standard Javanese /róh/); and some others.

### 3.3.5.2 Lexical items from Chinese dialects and Dutch

In the area of kinship terminology Hokkien and Mandarin kinship terms are used, as well as those from the other Chinese dialects, although the forms from other dialects were apparently used to a much lower degree. This is of course to be expected given the fact that the kinship system in the Chinese community is still pretty much Chinese. However, things are not always simple. I will discuss kinship terminology in a more thorough manner in the following chapters, since it does involve linguistic variation in the different terms used for different kinsfolk.

Also peculiarly Chinese is the use of terms of address and pronominals from the Chinese dialects and Dutch. Some Dutch-educated non-Chinese obviously also use forms such as /ü/ (U) *you, polite* or /whèy/ (wij) *we*, but again Chinese use these to a much higher degree. They use /gua/ (/gua<sup>51</sup>/ 我 *I* and /lu/<sup>28</sup> from Hokkien, /who/ (wo<sup>214</sup> 我) *I* and /who men/ (wo<sup>214</sup>men 我们) *we* and /ni/ or /nhi/ (ni<sup>214</sup> 你) and /ni men/ or /nhi men/ (ni<sup>214</sup>men 你们) *you(pl.)* from Mandarin. Chinese from other dialect groups also use pronominals from their dialect in addition to the Hokkien and Mandarin ones. What should be kept in mind is the fact that these people use these pronominals from the languages of their ancestors even when they are otherwise speaking Javanese and Malay/Indonesian. Dutch

pronominals are also used by those who went to Dutch-medium schools and others who learned Dutch by contact with those people. They use /ék/ (ik) or /ékke/ (a form not used in standard Dutch), /yhé/ or /yhèy/ (jij) *you*(sg.), /hèy/ (hij) *he*, /sèy/ (zij) *she*, /whèy/ (wij) *we*, /yhüli/ (jullie, originally pronounced /yholli/ in standard Dutch) *you*(pl.), and /di læo/ (die lui; standard Dutch uses zij) *they*.<sup>29</sup>

Chinese also use numerals from Hokkien, Mandarin and Dutch when speaking Javanese and Malay/Indonesian. Not everybody uses forms from all three codes; however, a few do use forms from two codes (usually Hokkien and Dutch or Hokkien and Mandarin), sometimes in the same situation and just a few seconds apart. One of my informants, when asked about the normal price for a certain type of denim jacket, answers /twéé dæosen sééfen hondert fèyftex/ (twee duizend zeven honderd vijftig) 2,750 in Dutch, and later on, when still discussing the same jacket, uses /no jéng jit pèq nggo/ (/nng<sup>11</sup> c'eng<sup>55</sup> c'it<sup>32</sup> paq<sup>5</sup> go<sup>11</sup>/ 二千七百五), which means 2,750 also. In the Chinese-dominated business districts it is not rare to receive information about the price of an item of merchandise sometimes in Hokkien and sometimes in Mandarin; again I find that the same speaker may use forms from either language almost at his/her whim. Certain forms from the Chinese dialects are pronounced differently from the original. Hokkien /cit<sup>55</sup>/ 一 is often rendered as /ce/, perhaps through the influence of the position of the /i/ between the two consonants. Hokkien /paq<sup>5</sup>/ 百 *hundred* is pronounced /pèq/, and /nng<sup>33</sup>/ 二 is pronounced /no/ (although /neng/ is common among older people). Mandarin bai<sup>24</sup> 百 *hundred* is often pronounced /peq/ or /paq/, although /pay/ or /pèy/ is also heard. What is more interesting is perhaps the use of a different numeral system through the influence of the Javanese and Malay/Indonesian system. Hokkien and Mandarin share the same numeral system. Their peculiarity, to begin with, is to have a separate word for *ten thousand*, which is /ban<sup>33</sup>/ in Hokkien and wan<sup>51</sup> 万 in Mandarin. Now this is still used in the speech of the Pasuruan Chinese. However, when saying 100,000 and up, it is the Javanese and Malay/Indonesian system that is used. So, instead of saying /cap<sup>32</sup> ban<sup>33</sup>/ 十万 in Hokkien or shi<sup>35</sup> wan<sup>51</sup> 十万 in Mandarin, in Pasuruan the Chinese use /ce pèq jéng/ or /i peq jyèn/ (lit. *one hundred thousand*). Hokkien has /paq<sup>5</sup> ban<sup>33</sup>/ 百万, and Mandarin, similarly, has bai<sup>24</sup> wan<sup>51</sup> 百万. Now the Pasuruan Chinese use /ce tyow/ or /ce tyaw/ in Hokkien, or /i dyow/ or /i dyaw/ in Mandarin. Interestingly, these forms do not exist in standard Hokkien and Mandarin. Presumably the existence of the concept for *million* in Javanese (/yuto/) and Malay/Indonesian (/juta/) influences this coinage.

### 3.4 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter we have seen how the Chinese are in many ways part of the larger linguistic community which comprises the Javanese majority in the area. At the same time, however, there are structural and lexical peculiarities in the Javanese and Malay/Indonesian of ethnic Chinese, not only the China-born but also the Indonesia-born. In addition, ethnic Chinese speak Chinese dialects or Dutch, or use forms from those codes in varying degrees when speaking Javanese or Malay/Indonesian.

Thus, if we only look at the linguistic repertoire of the Chinese, already we see how the differences in that repertoire from that of the Javanese majority and other non-Chinese run parallel to the sociocultural differences that we saw in Chapter 2. However, there are also differences in the way the Chinese use the codes they share with the Javanese majority and other non-Chinese minorities from the way they are used by the latter. We will now look into those differences in the next chapter.



## NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. This is different from the situation further to the east, where Madurese-speaking people outnumber Javanese-speaking people, since the latter are bilingual in Javanese and Madurese, while the Madurese are not.
2. Sumukti (1971:4-6) would classify the Javanese of Pasuruan into the eastern subgroup of the eastern group of Javanese dialects. Van Hinloopen Labberton (1900) and Poerwadarminta (1953:2) would classify it into the Malang-Pasuruan dialect. The classification into the Surabaya-Malang-Pasuruan dialect is by Mardjana (1933). That into the *pasisir* dialect can be found among others in the work by Poensen (1897:1); see also earlier discussion of Pasuruan as a *pasisir* community in Section 2.1.2.4. Sumukti and Poensen's classification is very general, i.e. based on very general structural and lexical characteristics of all the dialects in the eastern part and coastal part of Java respectively. Mardjana seems to find common features among varieties of Javanese used in Surabaya, Malang and Pasuruan, whereas van Hinloopen Labberton and Poerwadarminta think that the Surabaya dialect shows enough features not found in the Malang and Pasuruan areas to be singled out. Short of a satisfactory dialect geographical study of these varieties, one will have to make do with these classifications for the time being.
3. Kartomihardjo's working group basically includes the people I described earlier as comprising the lower class. His educated group seems to include both my upper class and middle class. He defines the *priyayi* as 'descendants of nobility', an inaccurate description. A better gloss for *priyayi* is 'gentry' (cf. Geertz 1960:228). Generally speaking, a *priyayi* is descended from the class of bureaucrats employed by the Dutch during the centuries they were in the Indies. These bureaucrats were originally people who claimed descent from Java's kings, but as the colonial bureaucracy expanded, commoners were also absorbed into the class.
4. /*kagungan*/ is an honorific in the standard (Solo) dialect, to be used in referring to the interlocutor or a respected third person, whereas /*gaḍahan*/ is a non-honorific *Kromo* form. This phenomenon of the use of honorifics for the speaker him/herself is mentioned in van Hinloopen Labberton (1900:8), and in Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo (1982:48).
5. Kertomihardjo does not explain who he means by the non-*priyayi*, but I presume they must be either those who are not descended from the gentry (the *santri* and *abangan* people) who have undergone formal education, some of whom belong to what I described in Section 2.1.2.2 as the middle class.
6. The other definition, describing the linguistic community as "a social group which may be either monolingual or multilingual, held together by frequency of social interaction patterns and set off from the surrounding areas by weaknesses in the lines of communication" (Gumperz 1962), is not applicable to the community I studied, since one cannot say that the Chinese are "set off by weaknesses in the lines of communication" in a strict sense.
7. Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo also discuss this phenomenon among the Chinese of Central Java (1982:98-108).
8. I follow Salmon (1980) in not agreeing with the term *Chinese Malay* used by many writers, since the Malay concerned, namely the written language of the pre-Independence press and literature, cannot objectively and structurally speaking be considered peculiar to ethnic Chinese writers only. At the same time, I take issue with previous works on the Malay dialect used by many people in East Java (Rafferty 1978, 1984; Dreyfuss and Oka 1979), which

refer to it as *Chinese Indonesian*. To begin with, the dialect cannot strictly be labelled Indonesian because of the grammatical and lexical differences between it and even East Java Indonesian (i.e. the dialect of Indonesian that has emerged in East Java since Independence; cf. Sections 3.3.3.1, 3.3.5.1 and 4.3.2). Furthermore, not only Chinese but also other alien minorities use the dialect, as well as many indigenous people in urban areas.

9. Only one of my informants learned Mandarin in China prior to emigrating to Java, and as a result speaks it without a Javanese accent. However, she speaks it the way Mandarin is spoken in the southern part of China, since she is a native speaker of Hokkien.
10. In my data I only find instances of these two Chinese regional dialects used by China-born Chinese; I will assume that similar processes occur when other dialects come into contact with Javanese and Malay/Indonesian.
11. For a thorough survey of Malay/Indonesian as used by people in East Java, see Kartomihardjo 1981.
12. For a survey of these phonological features, see van Hinloopen Labberton (1900:5-7) and Sumukti (1971:4-6). Samples of the dialect used in Pasuruan can be found in Poensen (1870), van Hinloopen Labberton (1900), Kats (1916, 1929), Kats and Koesrin (1921-1929), and Overbeck (1930).
13. For the dropping or weakening of final /h/, see the discussion in the next paragraph.
14. Samsuri (1958:23-24), based on a survey of 100 short sentences containing 2,535 phonemes, finds that these two phonemes are among the ones with the lowest phonemic load. /t/ is only found nine times in the entire text (.3%), and /d/, 43 times (1.7%).
15. Rafferty (1978:21-22) also mentions this phenomenon, and citing Ikranagara (1980) and Wallace (1976), speculates that it comes about through influence from Chinese dialects.
16. However, one finds in the careful speech of older people that the clusters /hw/ and /hy/ are retained.
17. The China-born Chinese normally speak their native Chinese dialect, and when they use Javanese and Malay/Indonesian they still use the phonemic inventory of that dialect. I will discuss this when describing the phonemic inventories of Hokkien and Hakka (see note 10 to this chapter).
18. Following the custom in discussing the phonology of Chinese dialects, the chart will be organised in terms of initials and finals. What one gets is a list of all the consonants found in initial position in a syllable and another list of all the possible sequences of sounds (vowels and consonants) that make up the rest of a syllable. I will still give a list of vowels to sum up the vowel inventory. Finally, I will list the tones. I will follow this custom also in discussing Hakka and Mandarin.
19. I mention this seemingly unimportant phenomenon because as we shall see later in the discussion of the use of Mandarin forms, the Mandarin /l/ is interpreted as two separate phonemes, depending on the tone of the forms.
20. I will ignore the phonological interference from Hakka for the time being. I will discuss this separately below.

21. Both these tones are traditionally classified as the *yangpingsheng* 阳平声 in the analysis of tones in Chinese dialects. See also the discussion on the maintenance of the 214 tone in Mandarin forms used with otherwise Javanese and Malay/Indonesian phonology below (Section 3.3.2.5), and the discussion on the use of lenis continuants in words of Mandarin provenience with the 35 tone (also a *yangpingsheng*, incidentally).
22. The final /l/ is turned into /n/ since that is the closest final consonant occurring in both Chinese dialects. The nasalisation of the vowel is of course because of Hokkien phonology, where vowels are redundantly nasalised when adjacent to nasals.
23. It is not at all clear why this tone should be retained. We saw earlier the use of the *yangpingsheng* on Javanese and Malay/Indonesian words that receive the sentence stress (example (4); cf. note 21 of this chapter). I have also observed interference from similar tones (i.e. where the pitch goes down and up again) when speakers of other tone languages, such as Thai and Vietnamese, speak a non-tone language such as English. While I have no ready explanation for this phenomenon, this should be an interesting topic for future research, especially in relation to the study of language universals.
24. In the next chapter I will discuss the sociolinguistic significance of these "foreign" vowels and clusters.
25. I will not go into the sociolinguistic significance of the use of forms from the different codes here, but will postpone the discussion until the next chapter.
26. The change of /é/ to /i/ is an influence from Javanese morphophonology; see Section 3.3.2.2 above.
27. This use of /puña/ is also found in the Bazaar Malay spoken in Malaysia, apparently also through influence from Chinese dialects (cf. Collins 1983a). One may suggest that perhaps its similar use by Chinese in Java (and it seems in other places, too) is some sort of traditional hold-over from an older variety of Malay. However, the fact that in Indonesia only China-born Chinese and their immediate descendants use it in this way seems to point to a separate, independent, more recent development.
28. It is not clear what the etymology of this form is. Hokkien has /li<sup>53</sup>/ 你; why it is borrowed as /lu/ is not readily explicable. The closest to it is Teochiu (Chaozhou) /lu<sup>53</sup>/ 你. Nio (1955) is quite sure it is from Hokkien, though. /gua/ and /lu/ are used widely by all ethnic groups in the Jakarta dialect of the capital city, and hence have spread to the other areas as well, but in East Java, for example, it is mostly Chinese who use them.
29. This phrase is not found in standard Dutch, and is apparently a calque from Malay /*dia orang*/ (lit. *he/she/it people*) *they*.

## Chapter 4

### IDENTITY MARKERS: JAVANESE AND MALAY/INDONESIAN

After looking into the internal structure of the codes used in the linguistic repertoire of the Chinese of Pasuruan, we are now ready to discuss how the codes reflect group identities, namely ethnic or subethnic identity and class identity. For the sake of convenience, I will divide the discussion artificially into two parts. In the present chapter, I will discuss the function of Javanese and Malay/Indonesian as identity markers, and in the following chapter I will discuss that of the Chinese dialects and Dutch (and, briefly, also that of English).

One could say there is a reason for this division: Javanese and Malay/Indonesian are the codes that everybody except for a handful of China-born Chinese use extensively. Even these older China-born people use the codes in many situations, especially when their interlocutors do not understand Chinese dialects. They also understand Javanese and Malay/Indonesian to a considerable degree merely by virtue of the codes' being utilised in the community. On the other hand, very few people are actually fluent in Chinese dialects (again except for the China-born Chinese, of course) or Dutch. The use of forms from Hokkien and Mandarin and from Dutch in the majority of instances functions to signify in-groupness and solidarity more than anything else. The function of forms of English provenience is discussed within this chapter because, if they are used at all, they serve a function similar to Dutch and Mandarin.<sup>1</sup>

#### 4.1 ON THE NOTIONS OF POLITENESS AND FORMALITY

In discussing the function of Javanese and Malay/Indonesian in the present work, we will be dealing with two main rubrics. First, we will look into how the use of a code in itself signifies the speaker's identity. For example, we will analyse what identity is signified by the use of Javanese or East Java Malay or Indonesian. At the same time, however, each code also consists of more than one variety, which also plays a role in signifying identity. Therefore, the second rubric we will be dealing with concerns what variety of a code signifies what identity.

In defining the different varieties, it is useful to think in terms of two axes, namely one of politeness and one of formality. On the politeness axis, we will have three points: impolite, neutral and polite; while on the formality axis, we will have two points: informal and formal (Figure 4.1). The terms *impolite*, *neutral* and *polite* in this work describe certain forms as well as whole utterances containing those forms. We have chosen the terms *impolite*, *neutral* and *polite* as technical terms and they should not be associated with their non-technical equivalents. However, they are meant to be descriptive in the sense that generally speaking, most forms of Javanese provenience tend to make an utterance impolite or at best neutral, such that a set of forms (e.g.

/dóróng/ *not yet*, /dué/ *to have*) would make an utterance impolite, while another set of forms (e.g. /séq/ *still*, /teko/ *from*) would make an utterance neutral. It is important to realise that which Javanese forms are impolite and which neutral will differ from one group to another. Forms of Malay/Indonesian provenience, on the other hand, tend to make an utterance polite or at least neutral. Thus, a set of forms (e.g. /belón/ *not yet*, /puña/ *to have*) only make an utterance neutral in terms of politeness, while another set of forms (e.g. /masiq/ *still*, /dari/ *from*) make an utterance polite. Thus, both certain Javanese and certain Malay/Indonesian forms make an utterance neutral, while only Javanese forms may make an utterance impolite and only some Malay/Indonesian forms may make an utterance polite.

The terms *informal* and *formal* also describe a set of forms as well as utterances containing those forms. A limited number of forms of Malay/Indonesian provenience tend to render a polite utterance formal, in opposition to an informal polite utterance which is rendered informal by a limited number of forms of Javanese provenience which are semantically equivalent to the forms of Malay/Indonesian provenience (see Sections 4.2.3.2 and 4.3.2 for further explanation and examples).

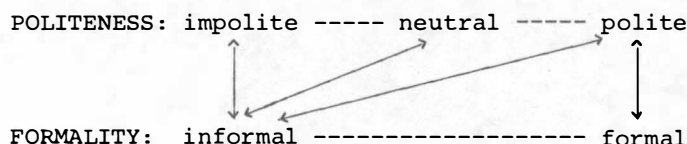


Figure 4.1: Axes of politeness and formality

Thus, the notions of politeness and formality in this work refer to types of forms and utterances; and insofar as those forms and utterances are used in speech situations, they are also used to refer to ways of speaking and behaving in human interactions.

The axes of politeness and formality are interrelated, in the sense that there can be a combination of points on the two axes defining a variety. However, not all combinations are possible. Whereas there can be informal polite and formal polite, not all the other possible combinations exist. Thus, the combinations formal impolite and formal neutral do not exist: both impolite and neutral forms or utterances are by definition informal.

In terms of the politeness axis, the variety used in most interactions in the community tends to be fixed, although for special effects certain shifts are possible (see Section 4.4). The case is different with the formality axis. When speaking politely, one is more free to show that one wants to maintain a degree of informality, obviously when the situation is appropriate.

That brings us to the question of the sociological variables that come into play in determining politeness and formality. This question has been discussed many times in the literature (cf. e.g. Brown and Gilman 1960, Friedrich 1972, Brown and Levinson 1978). In the course of this work, we will see that the variables that determine the choice of varieties in terms of the two axes of politeness and formality are power, social distance and solidarity.

The variable of power may include age difference, class difference, occupational position and so on. In this way, an older person is more powerful than a younger one, an employer is more powerful than his/her employee and so forth. The variable of distance may include class difference, gender difference, or ethnic difference. The variable of solidarity basically means in-group

solidarity, which in this work concerns solidarity within an ethnic group or a subgroup of it. One may expect that the three variables could combine with one another in determining the choice of a certain variety in terms of politeness and formality.

In view of those three variables, it is important to realise that in dyadic interactions between a speaker and a hearer (or a number of hearers, for that matter), in relations where power difference is relevant, the interactions may be asymmetric, in the sense that the more powerful person receives, say, polite utterances, but replies in neutral utterance. In relations where power is not so relevant, but social distance is, then the interactions tend to be symmetric, in the sense that both speaker and hearer exchange the same polite or formal (or at least neutral) variety of a code. The exact opposite of such relations are those relations where solidarity is important, or in other words where social distance is not relevant or not wanted. In such relations, again the interactions may be symmetric, except that informal, neutral utterances tend to be exchanged.

It will be in these terms that I will discuss the question of the usage of and attitudes towards Javanese and Malay/Indonesian and how they are interrelated with particular identities in the community.

## 4.2 THE FUNCTION OF JAVANESE

### 4.2.1 A historical perspective

#### 4.2.1.1 The quick adoption of a local language

With respect to language usage, the Chinese of Java have always adapted quickly to the local population.<sup>2</sup> Obviously the people who first emigrated from China came speaking a Chinese dialect, but until the second half of the 19th century, their descendants, the Peranakan, grew up speaking the local language, which except for Jakarta and its surrounding area, the Sundanese-speaking part of West Java province, and the Madurese-speaking part of East Java province, was Javanese.<sup>3</sup> The traveller Ong Tae Hae 王大海, a Chinese who came to work as a tutor in Java in the 18th century, wrote in 1791 that the Chinese of Java

in language, food and dress ... imitate the natives, and  
studying foreign books [i.e. not in Chinese] they do not  
scruple to become Javanese.

(Ong 1849:33)

More recently a French traveller, J. Chailley-Bert, admired the way the Chinese mingled with the local population:

Who other than the Chinese would mix with the natives,  
speak their language, take part in their life, capture  
their confidence [and] condescend to the most disgusting  
details ....

(*Java et ses habitants*. Paris, 1901:113,  
cited by Purcell [1965:433])

It was only in the second half of the 19th century that Malay became the common language of politeness and literacy in the Chinese community.

We do not know exactly what language was spoken by the Chinese who settled in the trading ports of East Java such as Tuban, Gresik-Jaratan and Surabaya as early as the 15th century. It is only later on in the *Dongxi yangkao* 东西洋考 "Researches on the Eastern and Western oceans" (1618) that we are told that the Sultan of Banten (in the Javanese-speaking part of West Java) employed four

Chinese and two native scribes to keep his books, as well as Chinese interpreters (Groeneveldt 1960:56; Salmon 1981:15). We can infer, then, that already at that time there were Chinese who had competence in Javanese, perhaps the Bantenese dialect. There were also Chinese in East Java at the time, and again except for the newly arrived immigrants, presumably these people spoke local dialects of Javanese.

A question that is important to raise here is whether Malay was used by these early immigrants, and if so, to what extent it was used. In the literature on the Chinese of Java it has often been claimed that as the Peranakan community was forming through intermarriage between the male immigrants and local women, the language that came to be used in the hybrid culture was Malay (cf. for instance Shellabear 1913:51, Skinner 1958:2 and Purcell 1965:413-414).

Upon more careful reflection based on what we know about the use of Javanese in the Peranakan homes (as reported, e.g. by Tio 1958:16) well into the second half of the 19th century as well as what we know about the taste for literature in Javanese (q.v. below), and also based on the persistent use of Javanese in the homes of lower-class Peranakan and Totok nowadays, I tend to disagree with the theory that Malay became the language of the Peranakan from early on. Malay was indeed used in the trading ports, but it seems that the Peranakan was a bilingual community, speaking Javanese among intimates and in the homes, and Malay in public. As we shall see in Sections 4.2.3.2 and 4.3.2 later, it was actually the Peranakan upper class who adopted Malay as their home language, largely because of their rise as a bourgeoisie in the second half of the 19th century.

#### 4.2.1.2 The role of Chinese in Javanese literature

As more and more Chinese emigrated to Java in the 18th and 19th centuries following the spread of the power of the Dutch East Indies Company over the island, and the Peranakan culture became established, there developed in this community a taste for the local culture of the Javanese. Pigeaud, for example, in his *Literature of Java*,<sup>4</sup> states that

[i]n all periods of Javanese history Chinese immigrants have played an important role.... In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Chinese traders became well-nigh predominant agents in Javanese inland economy, and in the first decades of the twentieth century wealthy Chinese merchants were leading residents in all Javanese towns....

In consequence of connections with native women the Chinese idioms of the immigrants were superseded within the time of two or three generations. In many districts Chinese traders grew familiar with local manners and the local idiom. Some members of Chinese families of long standing in Java developed into connoisseurs and patrons of Javanese art and literature. Some became Javanese authors themselves.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries there were Chinese patrons of literature who, in memory of their origin, caused Chinese historical romances to be translated into Javanese, versified in the manner of wayang tales.... Javanese-Chinese ... literature of this kind did not become popular outside the circle of influence of the wealthy Chinese patrons....

(Pigeaud 1968:vol.1:258-259)



In the second volume of the same work, Pigeaud lists a Chinese historical romance written in versified Javanese, entitled *Li Si Bin*, and dated 1859. It was apparently written by order of a certain Tig Og<sup>5</sup> of Kediri, East Java. Schlegel (1891:150) also mentions this work; he reports that the story concerns the adventures of Li Shimin 李世民 before his accession to the throne of the Tang dynasty in 618. Pigeaud, looking at the clumsy cursive script of the work, suggests that it was probably written by a Chinese (Pigeaud 1968:vol.2:74). He also lists a work entitled *Lo Thong*, again in versified Javanese and about the same Li Shimin. This one was definitely written by a Chinese, named Tan Tjin-Gwan, of Buleleng, Bali, in 1881 (Pigeaud 1968:vol.2:209).<sup>6</sup> In the fourth volume, Pigeaud mentions the memoirs of a certain Ko Ho Sing of Yogyakarta, dated 1872. It is the history of a family of Chinese immigrants who settled in Central Java in the first half of the 19th century, written in *macapat* verse (Pigeaud 1980:242). Later he mentions that nothing is known as to who wrote the work, although he suggests that s/he "may have been a Javanese or Sino-Javanese dependent" (Pigeaud 1980:245). In another work (Pigeaud 1938), he mentions the collection of Javanese manuscripts belonging to the famous Major Tan Tjin Kie (d. 1919) of Cirebon, West Java (p.114).

Mention should also be made of the bilingual (Javanese and Malay) newspaper *Darmokondo*, which in the beginning of this century was the most prominent paper in Central Java. Its publication was begun in 1903 under the leadership of Tjoe Tjoe Koan (1861-1905) and two Chinese associate editors (cf. inter alia Drewes 1934:30-31). This paper later became the organ of Budi Utomo, the first nationalist organisation in the Indies.<sup>7</sup>

The historian Liem Thian Joe (1939) also mentions a time when Peranakan Chinese paid great attention to Javanese literature, i.e. before they turned to literature in Malay. The reason for this, in his words, was that

[i]n the last century, firstly because of intimate contacts between our people and the indigenous population, and secondly because at that time it was difficult to find either Chinese or Malay schools, a lot of Chinese children went to indigenous schools, where besides learning Javanese script and language, those children had to be well-versed in the rules of Javanese etiquette just like the other students.

(Liem 1939:5-6)<sup>8</sup>

Liem further mentions a few Chinese stories that had been translated into Javanese in verse and in Javanese script. For example, he mentions a certain "boekoe [i.e. 'book'] Yo Tjong Poo" (Yang zong bao 楊宗保), which is about a general by that name of the Yang family of generals of the Ming dynasty (depicted in the work entitled *Yang jia jiang* 楊家將), belonging to the Njoo family in Ngadirejo, Parakan, Central Java. This book was copied by a certain Njoo Tik Hap, who at the time Liem wrote his essay was 82 years old (p.6). Apparently these books in Javanese were very popular in the Chinese community, and somebody would read them to other people at social functions in the community, such as at the birth of a child, at a wedding, at a wake and so forth (pp.6-7).

We can conclude, then, that although, as mentioned by Pigeaud, literary patronage was the privilege of the wealthy Chinese, literary works were also enjoyed by those who could not afford to patronise literature but nevertheless appreciated it. For a long time, then, the Chinese of places like Pasuruan formed a Javanese-speaking community, although again obviously first-generation immigrants spoke a Chinese dialect.



Well into the second half of the 19th century, then, Peranakan Chinese still spoke Javanese as a major code. Towards the end of the century, however, a change took place which was significant for the linguistic history of the Peranakan Chinese of Javanese-speaking Java. At this time Javanese as a literary language was gradually replaced by Malay and as a result Malay also gradually acquired the role of the language of politeness and literacy.<sup>9</sup>

#### 4.2.1.3 Did Chinese use Javanese language levels?

At this point I think we need to shift our attention to the question of whether or not the early Peranakan Chinese used the phenomenon of language levels in Javanese. Up through the end of the 19th century all Peranakan Chinese spoke Javanese as a major code. It is quite likely that at this time they did follow the social rules of Javanese very much like the ethnic Javanese, for racial segregation had not been firmly established. Thus it is quite conceivable that through contact with ethnic Javanese, the Chinese adopted the concept of language levels and used them when speaking Javanese.

As we shall see later (Sections 4.2.3.2 and 4.3.2), the structural mechanism for raising the level of speech in the Chinese community by substituting East Java Malay for Javanese is very similar to that used in the Javanese language by the ethnic Javanese, except that in the case of the ethnic Javanese, the raising of the language level is accomplished by the so-called *Kromo* forms, which are still considered to be Javanese, whereas in the case of the ethnic Chinese, the raising is accomplished by substitutions of Malay/Indonesian forms. It is my theory here that as Malay gained ground as a literary language, Malay forms started replacing the *Kromo* Javanese forms to indicate politeness.<sup>10</sup>

#### 4.2.1.4 Why Totok and lower-class Peranakan speak Javanese in the home

One thing that will be discussed in more detail in the rest of this section is the use of Javanese as a major code by a large number of both Peranakan and Totok Chinese. This is to say that although these people adhere to the etiquette of using Malay/Indonesian as the language of politeness, they normally speak Javanese in situations where politeness is not required. But before that, it is important to discuss how it came about that these people use Javanese as the major code. More appropriately, in view of the gradual change to Malay as the major code among upper-class Peranakan, I would like to discuss why Totok and lower-class Peranakan in Pasuruan now do not speak East Java Malay as their major code. In Section 4.3.1, I will discuss in greater detail the processes that brought about the use of Malay in the Chinese community of Java, and especially the use of East Java Malay as a major code by upper-class Peranakan. Suffice it here to say that although Malay became a common language of politeness and literacy for all Peranakan Chinese in the last century, only the upper-class Peranakan use the mixed Javanese-Malay variety as the home language, and expect to be addressed in it by other Chinese.

The lower-class Peranakan residential pattern has been such that they have had more opportunities to have more than the merely superficial contacts with ethnic Javanese that the upper-class Peranakan have allowed themselves. In other words, the lower-class Peranakan have always lived amidst and had intimate contacts with their lower-class Javanese neighbours, so that there was no stimulus to force them to change their major code from Javanese to Malay.

As regards the Totok, when their community was forming early this century, consciously or unconsciously they saw themselves as different from the Peranakan. They were mostly poor when they came to the Indies, and they were also probably put off by what they perceived as the arrogance of the upper-class Peranakan. Also, the fact that the Totok, at least in the beginning, carried out retail trade allowed them more opportunity to get into contact with the lower-class Javanese who were their customers. The late Siau-w Giok Tjhan mentions in his memoirs how in the late 1930s many Totok spoke Javanese or Madurese better than Malay. He accounts for this by saying that they were mostly self-made men who started from scratch and grew to become wealthy businessmen, but did not have the opportunity to obtain a formal education (Siau-w 1981:61).

Being in some ways separated from the established Peranakan community when they arrived, the Totok Chinese were not concerned with the social stratification of colonial Java, and thus held more egalitarian views in their dealings with the ethnic Javanese. This is not to say that as Chinese they did not look upon the Javanese as a lower race, but perhaps it is fair to say that they did so to a lesser extent than the Peranakan, especially the upper class. These factors probably combined to create a situation where the only time the Totok ever needed to use Malay was with the upper-class Peranakan, whom they were far from wanting to emulate, in the first place anyway. It was then only natural for the Totok after the loss of the use of their regional Chinese dialects (usually by the second generation) to choose Javanese as their major code.

Although both lower-class Peranakan and Totok use Javanese as their major code, one should not forget that there are certain peculiarities in the Javanese of the Totok that could set them apart as a different community. However, we shall wait until we discuss these in connection with the linguistic variations involving Javanese and Malay/Indonesian.

#### 4.2.2 Javanese as a code

##### 4.2.2.1 Javanese mainly a spoken language

For the Chinese community of present-day Pasuruan, Javanese is a spoken language first and foremost. Moreover, not unlike their ethnic Javanese neighbours, the Chinese mainly use it for non-literary purposes, and not in the realm of arts and letters. However, it is only fair to say that a few Chinese obviously have become interested in the arts and letters of their Javanese neighbours. They enjoy theatrical and musical performances carried out in Javanese, and yet a smaller number perhaps read the scanty Javanese press and the waning Javanese literature. As late as 1936, for example, Kwee Kek Beng could still write about the famous Tan Khoen Swie of Kediri, East Java, who published a great number of works in Javanese and Malay concerning Javanese culture, theosophy, Buddhism and ancient Chinese wisdom (Kwee 1936:82). Elsewhere in his article Kwee also mentions the fact that in Central Java one could find quite a few Chinese who were able to perform the Javanese *wayang* and *gamelan* in a way that only a few ethnic Javanese could surpass (Kwee 1936:87). Even in the 1960s there were still a handful of Javanese *wayang orang* troupes whose members were entirely or predominantly Chinese. Nowadays perhaps one could find a very few Chinese taking an interest in this art, but these people are more the exception than the rule. One should also note, however, that most *wayang orang* troupes are on their last legs, anyway, for lack of finances due to their dwindling popularity even among ethnic Javanese.

Most Chinese are ignorant of arts and letters in the Javanese language. It is true, actually, that since Independence Chinese children in elementary and junior high schools in Javanese-speaking areas (except those in the Chinese-medium schools), like their Javanese peers, have been taught reading and writing in Javanese using both Roman and Javanese script. The variety taught is that of Surakarta and Yogyakarta, which differs considerably from the Eastern dialect and even for the ethnic Javanese offers problems and all the more so for the Chinese. Therefore, the teaching of Javanese has definitely been a matter of no great success, especially for the Chinese students, but also for the Javanese students. It is not uncommon that Chinese students forget how to read and write Javanese, even in Roman script, right after they sit for their last examination in the subject.

#### 4.2.2.2 Javanese levels used by Chinese

The Javanese used by the Chinese of Pasuruan is the *Ngókó* level. A very small number of people who are very sensitive to language usage may be proficient in using the other levels, but again these are exceptional cases. We should not forget the fact that in any case in this part of Java the Javanese themselves are as a rule more liable to use the *Ngókó* level in more situations than people in other parts of Javanese-speaking Java. The Chinese do understand *Madyo* Javanese, as this level is used in speaking to them by servants, peddlers, manual labourers and so forth, especially if these are from the rural area. For example, the following short exchange is a typical conversation between a servant and her employer:

- (1) Servant: *ña muda, ten tiang.*  
               */lady young, exist person/*  
               *There's somebody [for you], Ma'am.*

Employer: *iyho.*  
               */yes/*  
               *All right.*

The servant's utterance is in *Madyo* Javanese, as indicated by the use of */ten/ exist* (*Ngókó /ono/*) and */tiang/ person* (*Ngókó /wong/*). The employer's reply, short as it is, is clearly *Ngókó* Javanese, since she does not use the *Madyo* or *Kromo* form for *yes* (*/nggéh/* or */inggéh/*). The relation between the servant and her employer is asymmetric in terms of the variable of power, and especially since the servant is a traditional rural Javanese woman, she places herself in the Javanese system of politeness, speaking up, as it were, to her employer. Whether the employer, a second-generation Totok woman, replies in *Ngókó* as part of the Javanese system or as part of the Totok system, i.e. the use of Javanese in the home, is not so clear.

But things are changing these days; one finds more lower-class Javanese, especially since they have been exposed to the use of Indonesian either in society at large or through some formal education in that medium, using some variety of Indonesian when speaking to Chinese. While many Chinese consider being addressed in Malay/Indonesian appropriate to show the lower-class people's deference, a few do not think so. One of my informants, an upper-class Peranakan woman in her 70s with some formal Dutch-medium education and a good deal of self-education, expresses her annoyance at being addressed in Malay/Indonesian:

I don't like the servants speaking to me in Malay. They are Javanese, aren't they? So they should know Javanese etiquette, and speak to me in the high level.<sup>11</sup>

However, younger upper-class Peranakan nowadays think that it is perfectly acceptable for lower-class Javanese to address them in Malay/Indonesian.

Lower-class Peranakan and Totok are sometimes addressed in *Ngókó* Javanese by lower-class Javanese when they are the same age. We find in (2), for example, a situation in which a Totok shop-owner is talking with her assistant, a Javanese woman of roughly the same age. A customer has asked about the availability of a certain item of merchandise, and the shop-owner is not sure, so she asks her assistant.

- (2) Shop-owner: *mosoq onoq barang=é ta?*  
                   /particle-of-doubt exist merchandise=determiner question-tag/  
                   *I don't suppose we have the merchandise, do we?*

Assistant: *ijéq, lóró mbóh telu ....*  
                   /*still, two don't-know three*/  
                   *Yes, we still do, two or three [of them] ....*

The entire short exchange is in *Ngókó* Javanese. The fact that one is an employer and the other an employee is not considered relevant by the Totok woman. This is in conformity with my earlier observation that Totok have a more egalitarian attitude when it comes to interacting with lower-class Javanese, unlike the class-conscious upper-class Peranakan. They regard this use of *Ngókó* as neutral, but upper-class Peranakan think that it is appalling that these lower-class people (in their view) do not know manners. The Peranakan informant I quoted just now, for example, although she may be able to tolerate being spoken to in Malay/Indonesian, really cannot imagine being spoken to in *Ngókó* Javanese:

May I be spared [the humiliation of] being spoken to in *Ngókó*. These younger people, they allow themselves and their children to be spoken to in *Ngókó*. Just horrible!<sup>12</sup>

A few younger, Indonesian-educated upper-class Peranakan think that is undemocratic for lower-class Javanese to speak *Madyo* Javanese to them and for them to reply in *Ngókó*. Therefore, they accept the use of *Ngókó* Javanese from lower-class Javanese of the same age. It is interesting to note thus that the variable of class is made irrelevant and only that of age is retained. A smaller number of upper-class Peranakan who are sensitive to language usage around them also use *Madyo* Javanese to lower-class Javanese and sometimes even *Kromo* and *Kromo Inggél* to upper-class Javanese when social distance exists. But again this latter use of the Javanese speech levels is more the exception than the rule. In general, Chinese do not have active mastery of *Madyo* and *Kromo* Javanese. This situation has come about because of different factors: historically, as we shall see later in Section 4.3.1.3, when Chinese were removed from alliances with the local elites, and the latter became bureaucrats on the Dutch government's payroll, Chinese no longer had any strong motivation to emulate the trappings of Javanese aristocracy, among others the use of the language levels. Gradually, the only *Madyo* and *Kromo* Javanese Chinese ever heard were increasingly from lower-class Javanese, mainly peddlers, labourers and servants. It is thus understandable that as time went by, Chinese understood *Madyo* and *Kromo* Javanese, but never had to use them. In addition, the Javanese attitude that non-Javanese can never learn the language levels properly has been incorporated into the language attitudes of the Chinese, so that very few Chinese ever try to break the stereotype.

Recently people with assimilationist ideas have played around with the idea that the learning of the proper use of Javanese speech levels may be a good way for the Chinese to assimilate into the Javanese community. So far I do not know of any concrete effort in this direction, though. If anything, the few Chinese who have tried doing so reported to me that they were often laughed at when they used the wrong level or used honorifics for themselves, which was rather discouraging!

#### 4.2.2.3 Chinese attitude towards Javanese

Let us now shift our attention to the question of the attitude the Chinese have towards Javanese as a code. In general, when I started talking with people during my first visits to them, and I asked them what language they speak in the family, I was struck by the fact that very few of them would readily mention Javanese. A large number of people said they speak Indonesian (/bahasa éndónésya/) in the family, and a few said they speak Mandarin (in the case of some educated Totok) or Dutch (in the case of some upper-class Peranakan). When I asked further whether they only speak the one language they mentioned, only then did they say that they use Indonesian mixed with Javanese (/bahasa éndónésya campór jawa/), or what they call mixed language (/bahasa campuran/) or "market language" (/bahasa pasaran/). Very few of my informants actually admitted outright that they speak Javanese in the family. This has led me to the conclusion that even if they use Javanese as a code (as can be very easily verified in an objective way), the Chinese consciously or unconsciously look down upon the language. The upper-class Peranakan definitely think that Javanese is an inferior language compared to Malay/Indonesian. To begin with, Javanese is the language of the ethnic Javanese, whom they look down upon, but it is also the home language of the Totok and lower-class Peranakan, whom they also look down upon. Historically, this elitism on the part of the upper-class Peranakan stemmed from the glorious days of their ancestors, when these were holders of the various monopolies farmed out to them by the Dutch (see Section 2.2.3.4). This was the beginning of the rise of Malay within the upper-class families (q.v. below, Section 4.3.1.3). The other Chinese, when I asked them about their attitude towards the language, all said that it carried no extraordinary connotations to them (/biasa/).

It is interesting that earlier studies on language use which employed the self-reporting technique came out with similar results for the Pasuruan area and eastern Java in general. Coppel (1973) reports that the 1920 Census listed that in the Pasuruan Residency, 55.0 per cent of Chinese reported they spoke Malay, and only 10.9 per cent reported they spoke Javanese as their language of daily use (*dagelijksche taal*) (the remaining 33.8 per cent reported they spoke Chinese and 0.3 per cent reported they spoke Madurese) (p.153). Unfortunately the Census only asked for one language to be reported; however, this still appears to be a case of under-reporting of the use of Javanese.

Weldon (1973), based on his survey of four major urban centres in Java, found that in Surabaya 66 per cent of Chinese said they spoke Indonesian and only 18 per cent said they spoke Javanese at home (Table 11). Again, these more recent data make me suspect under-reporting when compared to my own observation of actual language use.

This attitude towards the use of Javanese seems to be prevalent in other parts of Javanese-speaking Java as well. Willmott, in his study of the Chinese of Semarang, Central Java (1960), also found under-reporting: only 19 per cent

of Chinese neither of whose parents were China-born, 16 per cent of those whose father was China-born, and 7 per cent of those both of whose parents were China-born, reported using Javanese as their "language of daily conversation" (p.112). All of these cases of under-reporting of the use of Javanese again lead me to believe that the Chinese in general think of Javanese as an inferior language.<sup>13</sup> This is of course related to the general condescension that a large number of Chinese feel towards (at least lower-class) Javanese.

Equally, perhaps more, significant is the question of who asks the question about what language is used by Chinese. We are here dealing with the question of a "public image" and a "private image": when one thinks or tries to project his/her public image, then s/he tries to show his/her best assets, which in this case is the language which s/he thinks is best, i.e. Malay/Indonesian, Mandarin or Dutch. Thus, when the person who asks the question is a stranger, it is to be expected that the public image will be projected, although later on when inhibitions have lessened, the private image may be projected. This observation is corroborated by my own experience in doing field research: with the informants that had known me intimately since I was a child, I tended to get information that agreed with observed behaviour, but with those that had not known me well, I would usually get the public image first, and only during later visits and encounters would I obtain information that fit observed behaviour.

#### 4.2.2.4 Use of Javanese among Chinese

Despite that kind of attitude toward the language, however, Javanese is a language of daily conversation in a large part of the Chinese community. We should remember that the Javanese variety used contains certain borrowings from Chinese dialects peculiar to the Chinese, which I will discuss in detail below. We can thus speak of a specific variety of Javanese used by Chinese. The borrowings are, briefly, terms of address and kinship terms, numerals, and words for certain concepts, actions and objects. In general the degree of usage of these forms of Hokkien and/or Mandarin provenience, except for terms of address and kinship terms, depends on how much previous or present exposure the speakers of Javanese have had to the two Chinese dialects. As such, one can, as an observer, remark that the variety of Javanese used by the Chinese already indicates a kind of identifiably different group identity.

When asked, my informants generally remarked that the use of Javanese or the variety itself is not different and thus is not an indicator of being Chinese (as opposed to being Javanese). To the upper-class Peranakan, however, the use of Javanese in the family is clearly perceived as a sign of inferiority, i.e. as opposed to their own use of Malay/Indonesian in the family. The words they use to express this are /kurang sopan/ *not polite enough*, /kurang ajar/ *rude*, or /ndaq tau aturan/ *ignorant of etiquette*. They distinguish Totok and lower-class Peranakan by saying that these people speak (Ngókó) Javanese to their elders, which among the upper-class Peranakan is considered very rude. Of course the Peranakan in general distinguish the Totok by other criteria (q.v. Section 2.2.3.2). But the non-use of Javanese is one criterion by which the upper-class Peranakan differentiate themselves from the rest of the Chinese community. To ethnic Javanese, the use of (Ngókó) Javanese as such is not a striking phenomenon, except that some Javanese think it remarkable how quickly the Chinese learn to speak their language. Javanese who are sensitive to language usage sometimes remark on the special words used by the Chinese (q.v. Section 3.3.5.1). However, as we shall see later, to the Javanese it is the use of East Java Malay and

Chinese dialects or forms from those dialects that marks the Chinese as a different group of people.

In Totok and lower-class Peranakan families, Javanese is used among close relatives. Earlier, in Section 3.3.2.4, we were given a glimpse of the language variety used by a first-generation Hakka immigrant. By the second generation, the children already use Javanese to their parents and other close relatives. There are cases where the Chinese-speaking relatives would speak in a Chinese dialect, and the second-generation relatives would reply in what amounts to an attempt at speaking the Chinese dialect.<sup>14</sup> From my observation, however, I found this to be an exceptional case. It is more customary in the Totok community for members of the family to use Javanese. This is even more apparent among third-generation immigrants.

In my corpus there is a conversation between two Totok girls who are sisters, one about five years old and the other about seven years old. The setting of the conversation is an upper-class Peranakan house. These children often come to play there, watch television, and so on. At one point, the father of the house offers them some crackers, and the younger one is too shy to take them, but the older one encourages her to. The younger sister then remarks what a glutton her sister is:

- (3) iki rakós iki.  
       */this gluttonous this/*  
       *You're such a glutton.*

A few moments later, the older sister encourages her sister to take the crackers, and again she reproaches the older one:

- (4) ciq=léq iki ....  
       */older-sister=small this/*  
       *Look at you, sis.*

Both (3) and (4) are in *Ngókó* Javanese. Despite the presence of a Peranakan bystander (the father of the house), they use *Ngókó* comfortably enough. It is interesting to note, though, that in the corpus the same two girls do use Malay/Indonesian here and there. Their major code in the family is Javanese, but at the same time the family is rising on the social ladder. Their mother, especially, clearly portrays typical nouveau-riche values, and it is interesting that as the family is becoming more and more bourgeois, their use of Javanese is also shifting to that of Malay/Indonesian, although this is not done consistently. I happen to have recordings of their mother in my corpus, and there again she shifts constantly between Javanese and Malay/Indonesian.

Javanese is also a code used by Chinese who are intimate with each other. In the following conversation, for example, two Totok men in their 30s are talking about selling a camera.

- (5) A: mboq=jual piro iku até=né?  
       */you=sell how-much that will=nominaliser/*  
       *How much do you intend to sell it?*  
       B: lhó, dóróng di=gowo?  
       */interjection-of-surprise, not-yet passive-marker=take/*  
       *[You mean] it hasn't been taken away yet?*  
       A: góróng, aku gaq wani, wong kon meneng aé mau.  
       */not-yet, I not dare, argumentative-particle you silent only earlier/*  
       *No, it hasn't. I didn't dare to [let the person take it away]; after*  
       *all, you didn't say anything earlier [when the person was here].*



The conversation is definitely in *Ngókó* Javanese, except for the use of the Malay/Indonesian form /jual/ *sell* (*Ngókó* Javanese uses the cognate /dol/). When speaking Javanese, many Chinese, through their habitual use of Malay/Indonesian, intersperse their Javanese utterances with forms from the latter code. We will look into this phenomenon in detail when we discuss the use of Malay/Indonesian forms in Section 4.3.4.

Many upper-class Peranakan also use Javanese with close friends. In the following conversation, two upper-class young men, both engineering students, are talking about an acquaintance of theirs who has to work at a construction site on the outskirts of town.

- (6) A: oma=é arèq iku ngéq ndi?  
       */house=determiner child that in where/  
       Where does the guy live?*
- B: ó, ndaq, pigi kantor, ntiq di=ter=no dari kantor.  
       */oh, no, go office, later passive-marker=take=benefactive-marker from  
       office/  
       Oh, no, [he goes] to [his] office, then [they] drive him from there [to  
       the construction site].*
- A: ó, onaq montor.  
       */oh, exist car/  
       Oh, there's a car [to take him there].*

Here again, although the larger part of the conversation is in Javanese, we find Malay/Indonesian forms, namely Malay /pigi/ *to go* (Javanese /nang/), East Java Malay /ntiq/ *later* (Javanese /ngkóq/), and Malay/Indonesian /dari/ *from* (Javanese /teko/; this form is even very formal Malay/Indonesian, the informal East Java Malay form being /dateng/). When we discuss the function of Malay/Indonesian in Section 4.3, the significance of this code-mixing will be studied in greater detail.

In addition to using Javanese in conversing in the ways just mentioned, the Chinese, especially Peranakan, are also familiar with nursery rhymes and the like in Javanese. As mentioned earlier in Section 4.2.2.4, it is perfectly all right to use Javanese in the home among Totok and lower-class Peranakan. It is interesting, however, that even for upper-class Peranakan, where usually Malay/Indonesian only is acceptable, the recitation of nursery rhymes in Javanese is allowed. A very popular rhyme involves placing a hand against a light to make a shadow on the wall representing a deer eating beans. The rhyme that goes with the movements of the fingers to imitate the deer's mouth goes like this:

- (7) kidang talón,  
       */deer field/  
       a deer in the field,*
- mangan kacang talón,  
       */eat bean field/  
       is eating beans in the field,*
- mbèq ketemil, mbèq ketemil.  
       */onomatopoeai for the sound of a deer and the sound of chewing beans/  
       munch munch munch.*

The Javanese form that would not be acceptable to upper-class Peranakan outside the domain of reciting rhymes is /mangan/ *to eat*. In an ordinary upper-class



Peranakan speech event, Malay/Indonesian /*makan*/ is expected. It is interesting to note that sometimes people do use the form /*makan*/ in the above rhyme, thus making it East Java Malay instead of Javanese.

In my corpus there is also a situation where an upper-class Peranakan in his late 50s is teaching a Totok girl who is about seven years old to recite a short rhyme in Javanese. The rhyme goes like this:

- (8) *pipo londo.*  
*/pipe Dutch/*  
*A Dutch pipe.*
- kacang di=koncèq=i.*  
*/peanut passive-marker=peel=repetitive-suffix/*  
*Peanuts are peeled.*
- papi lungu.*  
*/father go/*  
*Father is away.*
- mami n=dolèq=i.*  
*/mother active-marker=look-for=transitive-suffix/*  
*Mother's looking for [him].*

The rhyme is entirely in Javanese, except for the Dutch loanwords /*papi*/ (pappie) *daddy* and /*mami*/ (mammie) *mummy*. It is interesting to note how these loanwords are used instead of the Javanese or other terms for *daddy* and *mummy*. One of my informants, a Peranakan in his late 20s, remembered that in his childhood the rhyme used to have the Javanese words.

#### 4.2.2.5 Javanese in Chinese interactions with Javanese

Earlier on (Section 4.2.2.2), when discussing the Javanese levels used by Chinese, we touched on the question of the use of Javanese in situations where the Chinese interact and communicate with ethnic Javanese. In speaking with lower-class Javanese, the Chinese generally use *Ngókó* Javanese, although a few might use Malay/Indonesian. We have also seen that although traditionally the Chinese would get *Madjo* Javanese in return, the changing social structure has led to the use of Malay/Indonesian or *Ngókó* Javanese. This shift from Javanese to Malay/Indonesian is aptly represented in an anecdote included in the memoirs of a Peranakan Chinese of Malang (East Java), which contains his experiences from the beginning of the Japanese occupation (1942) up to around 1946 (Tjamboek Berdoeri 1947). One day shortly after Independence he runs into a Javanese whom he used to know as a waiter at a restaurant he frequently patronised. The ex-waiter, still in his lower-class clothes, is carrying a rifle, and when our author asks him what he is doing at the bus station with the rifle, the Javanese answers (in *Kromo*):

- (9) *inggéh, kulo dipón=kèngkèn n=jagi mriki.*  
*/yes, I passive-marker=order active-marker=guard here/*  
*Well, I was told to guard this place.*

Apparently the ex-waiter has become a member of the guerilla movement. A few weeks later, the author runs into him again, but this time in front of a brick house in the more elite part of town. The ex-waiter greets him in Malay/Indonesian:

- (10) wa, tuan.  
*/well sir/*  
*Well, sir.*
- kebetulan tuan datang.  
*/by-chance sir come/*  
*How nice of you to come.*
- mari singga di ruma saya.  
*/please stop-by at house my/*  
*Please stop by my house.*
- ini apa, seka rang saya tinggal di sini.  
*/this what, now I live at here/*  
*Here it is, I live here now.*

The use of Malay/Indonesian clearly indicates that our ex-waiter wants to put himself on an equal footing with the Chinese author, who used to be somebody of a higher class than himself. The use of /tuan/ *sir* leaves us with a slight doubt, however. We cannot be entirely sure whether it is used in the way an employee addresses an employer, or in the way non-indigenous Orientals (*Vreemde Oosterlingen*) used to and nowadays sometimes still use it to address each other. At any rate, our ex-waiter had switched from *Kromo* Javanese to Malay/Indonesian over just a period of a few months.

In terms of our model of politeness and formality (Section 4.1), the ex-waiter, who used to be on an asymmetric footing with the author, by switching to the use of Malay has forced the relationship to be symmetric. There is probably still some social distance between the two men (notice the use of /tuan/ and in general the use of Malay/Indonesian itself); in a symmetric relation coloured by solidarity, the two men would most likely exchange *Ngókó* Javanese.

*Ngókó* Javanese is also used when Chinese speak with Javanese with whom no social distance exists, such as among close friends. When social distance exists, or when the Javanese is in a position of power, the use of Javanese is in most cases avoided.<sup>15</sup>

There are, however, situations where the variables of power and distance are attenuated because they are irrelevant (i.e. because the interaction does not involve the interplay of these two, such as in superficial interactions between people of the same age or class background). Now in such a situation it is not unusual in this part of East Java for people to use *Ngókó* Javanese to each other. The only signifiers of politeness are the use of pronouns and terms of address. In (11), for example, a Chinese in her 20s is at the post office, talking to the postal clerk, who is a Javanese woman of roughly the same age:

- (11) Chinese: até kéré<sup>m</sup> whèsel, mbaq.  
*/will send money-order, older-sister/*  
*I want to send [some] money [by money order].*
- Javanese: kéré<sup>m</sup> biasa opo kilat?  
*/send ordinary or express/*  
*Do you want to send it [by] ordinary [mail] or [by] express [mail]?*
- Chinese: biasa aé, mbaq.  
*/ordinary just, older-sister/*  
*Just [send it] [by] ordinary [mail].*

Javanese: [realising that her customer forgot to write her return address]  
 lhó, iki alamat pengirim=é dóróng sampèan tólés.  
 /particle-of-surprise, this address sender=determiner not-yet  
 you write/  
 Wait a minute, you didn't write down your return address here.

Except for the term of address /mbaq/ *older sister* and the *Madyo* pronoun /sampèan/ *you*, which signify politeness, the entire short conversation above is in (neutral) *Ngókó* Javanese. Although the two women do not know each other well enough to be intimate with each other, the fact that they are of roughly the same age attenuates the power (age) variable. Were the customer or the clerk older than the other, or one of them a man, the chances are that they would be using Malay/Indonesian.

Another possible situation where Chinese and Javanese interact and communicate is one where the Javanese is in a clearly more powerful position. Javanese teachers, for example, sometimes address a Chinese student in *Ngókó* Javanese. The student will always answer in Malay/Indonesian, since *Ngókó* Javanese will be too rude, while as mentioned above (Section 4.2.2.2), s/he usually does not have active mastery over *Kromo* Javanese, which is expected of ethnic Javanese students in such a situation (although the use of Indonesian is also possible).

In the following conversation, a Peranakan student who is continuing her studies in Germany comes to visit her old alma mater, and meets one of her former professors.

(12) Professor: kapan kówé rampóng, fén?  
 /when you finish, fén/  
 When do you finish, Fén?

Student: ndaq tau, bu, kira=kira dua=tiga taón lagi, gitu.  
 /not know, mother, approximately two=three year again, so/  
 I don't know, Ma'am, perhaps in another two or three years.

Professor: mboq ngkóq nèq m=baléq nang Jèrman ibu di=kirim=i buku séng  
 me=ngena=i pengembangan kurikulum.  
 /imperative-softener later if stative-marker=return to Germany  
 mother passive-marker=send=transitive-marker book relative-  
 clause-marker active-marker=hit=transitive-marker development  
 curriculum/  
 Could you send me a book on curriculum development when you  
 return to Germany?

Student: yha, bu, nanti saya cari=kan.  
 /yes, mother, later I look-for=benefactive-marker/  
 Sure, Ma'am, I'll find [one] for you.

Except for the Indonesianisms (/me-ngena-i/ *concerning*, /pengembangan kurikulum/ *curriculum development*), the professor's utterances are in *Ngókó* Javanese. The student's replies are in informal standard Indonesian. (See the definition of Malay and Indonesian in Section 4.3.2 below.)

Javanese government officials also often use *Ngókó* in speaking to Chinese under their authority, especially if these are clearly younger. This is of course done to Javanese in the same position as well; the difference lies in what those people use in replying. The Chinese will use Malay/Indonesian, while the Javanese will use *Madyo* or *Kromo* Javanese, although again the use of Malay/Indonesian is not entirely ruled out in such a situation. There are, obviously,

situations where the official and the Chinese are intimate friends, but what I refer to here is a situation in which the official is in a clearly more powerful position. Again the Chinese is usually expected to answer in Malay/Indonesian, for the same reasons as those for the student in (12). We see in (13) below an instance of an exchange between a Javanese ward chief (kepala dèsa) and a Chinese youth. The Chinese comes to the chief's office to obtain a certificate of good conduct.

- (13) Chief: onoq perlu opo?  
           */exist need what/*  
           *What is it that you need?*
- Chinese: anu, paq, mau mintaq surat kelakuan baèq.  
           */whatchamacallit, father, will ask-for letter conduct good/*  
           *Oh, I'd like to get a certificate of good conduct, Sir.*
- Chief: n=daftar=o nang paq caréq séq.  
           */active-marker=register=imperative-marker to father ward-clerk*  
           *first/*  
           *Why don't you register with the clerk first.*
- Chinese: ó, ke paq caréq dulu, paq?  
           */oh, to father ward-clerk first, father/*  
           *So I should go [see] the clerk first, Sir?*
- Chief: yho, ngkóq nèq wés, gowo=en baléq nang kéné, taq=tèken=é.  
           */yes, later if already, bring=imperative-marker return to here,*  
           *I=sign=it/*  
           *Yes, after that, bring it back to me and I'll sign it.*

It appears from observing (12) and (13) that the variable of power (in this case age and official position) plays an important role in allowing the professor and the ward chief to use Javanese. From my corpus it is clear that with older Chinese the chief, for example, uses Malay/Indonesian. However, to Javanese of the same age, he uses the polite Javanese language levels, *Madyo* or *Kromo*, depending on how well he knows them. He uses *Madyo* to those he knows very well and *Kromo* to those who are more or less strangers to him. It becomes an interesting question, then, why he does not also use the polite levels to his Chinese contemporaries. A superficial explanation would be that, after all, Chinese are a different group of people, but a more relevant explanation is the fact that if he used the polite levels to them, then he would be putting himself in the position of those lower-class Peranakan who speak the polite levels to the Chinese. In conformity with his superior bureaucratic position, obviously he would not perceive himself as inferior to the Chinese; at least he would want the relation to be symmetric in terms of social distance. I also found one instance of his using Malay/Indonesian to a young Peranakan. Perhaps he is more familiar with the young Chinese in (13), and not so with the latter Chinese. If this is the case, then the variable of distance also plays a role in determining the choice of code even when in terms of power (age and official position) he is clearly superior.

To summarise, then, *Ngókó* Javanese functions as a code used among intimates for the lower-class Peranakan and the Totok, and some upper-class Peranakan. It is used where the variables of power and social distance are not relevant. Also, it may often be used in interactions with lower-class Javanese, while Chinese may receive it from Javanese in a clearly more powerful position.

#### 4.2.3 Javanese forms as identity markers

Besides using Javanese as a code in and of itself, the Chinese of Pasuruan borrow Javanese forms into their other codes. As a matter of fact, East Java Malay, and to a lesser degree East Java Indonesian, are given the attribute "East Java" precisely because of these borrowings from Javanese. Even people who try to speak Mandarin or Dutch would use a few borrowings from Javanese, except when they have had enough education in either of those two languages to be able to speak fluently. These borrowings are of three types: (1) "Javanisms", namely the use of Javanese forms that are not readily replaceable by forms from other languages; (2) "neutral forms", namely those that can be used in situations in which politeness - and in the case of a few grammatical items, formality - for one or another reason is not called for, but which can be replaced by Malay/Indonesian forms to signify politeness and formality; (3) "impolite forms", namely those that are considered impolite when used in situations that call for politeness in language use.<sup>16</sup>

##### 4.2.3.1 Javanisms

As mentioned in the last chapter, the phonology of Javanese is also used in speaking Malay/Indonesian by most people in East Java, including the Chinese. Syntactic interference from Javanese is discussed in Section 3.3.4.1; this phenomenon occurs in the Malay/Indonesian of the Chinese. In a way the phonological and syntactic interferences are instances of Javanisms.

What concerns us more here, though, are Javanisms in the form of lexical items. Certain Javanese loan words are used even when speaking another code. The use of these forms is by no means limited to the Chinese community, however. As a matter of fact, everybody in Javanese-speaking areas tends to do it. Thus, they are part of the Malay/Indonesian dialect spoken by these people. These are the words that carry the subtle nuances in meanings, that convey emotions, and so forth. The term "Javanisms" thus means 'Javanese words which have come into the Malay/Indonesian dialect of Pasuruan (East Java in general)'. It is significant that words of this character are borrowed, for it shows that we have a community that historically was Javanese-speaking and has gone over to Malay/Indonesian.<sup>17</sup> These borrowed forms include interjections such as /*(w)adah/* *come on!*, /*lha/* *hey!*, and /*jangkrék/* *shoot!*; onomatopoeic terms and verbs based on them such as /*blek/* *sound of a heavy thing falling*, /*kecrut/* *to squirt* (based on the onomatopoeia /*crut/* *sound of something squirting*), and /*tepok/* *sound of a hard but light object falling*; and in general forms and expressions that cannot be expressed as vividly or accurately in Malay/Indonesian. It goes without saying that the degree of usage of these forms and expressions is substantially reduced in the speech of people who have had a great deal of Indonesian-medium education or when they speak among non-Javanese-speaking people. But still many native speakers of Javanese freely use these Javanisms, sometimes as if with no regard for their non-Javanese-speaking interlocutor(s) and bystander(s).

When it comes to signifying politeness and formality, these Javanisms play a neutral role, in the sense that whether or not they are used, they do not determine the degree of politeness and formality of one's utterances. About the only sociolinguistic function these forms and expressions carry is that of signifying in-group solidarity when people are speaking to other Javanese-speaking people. Along with the movement to purify Indonesian usage, some Chinese, especially those with Indonesian-medium education, make a feeble attempt at purging their speech of these Javanisms, but many Javanese-speaking people think of this as something very artificial and affected.

#### 4.2.3.2 Javanese forms vis-à-vis politeness and formality

I mentioned earlier that the use of Malay/Indonesian forms signifies politeness and formality in the Chinese community. Later on in Section 4.3.2, when we examine the function of Malay/Indonesian, we will see how there is a continuum of usage in terms of politeness and formality, from the use of polite and formal utterances containing entirely Malay/Indonesian forms (and Javanisms, of course, but these are neutral when it comes to signifying politeness and formality) at one extreme, through the use of Malay/Indonesian forms with a few Javanese grammatical items to indicate informal politeness, to the use of certain neutral Javanese grammatical and lexical items (some of which may be impolite to some people) alongside those from Malay/Indonesian to indicate the attenuation of formality and politeness. We will begin by looking into the use of these neutral forms in sentences which are otherwise Malay/Indonesian. I call them "neutral" because when they are used in the midst of what is considered a Malay/Indonesian utterance, these forms do not trigger the reaction from the interlocutor(s) or bystander(s) that the speaker is being impolite, but they do do something to lower the level of politeness (and in the case of a few grammatical items, that of formality).

These neutral forms make up the Javanese admixture of the neutral East Java Malay used by the Chinese. A few grammatical items belong to this neutral category because they lend an air of informality to an otherwise polite East Java Malay utterance. This will be discussed later in Section 4.3.2.5. What is important to examine here is the fact that these neutral Javanese forms can be replaced by Malay/Indonesian forms to make the speech more polite and formal. Now it is interesting to speculate why if these forms can be replaced by forms of Malay/Indonesian provenience, the Chinese still use them. For one thing, it is possible that the use of these forms reflects the period when the Peranakan Chinese of the 19th century were adopting Malay as their language of politeness and literacy, but at the same time they were feeling that since the use of utterances consisting of entirely Malay forms signifies extreme politeness and formality, and this creates a wall between the participants in the conversation, there should be a way of lowering the degree of politeness and formality by reducing the distance between the participants. This may have been the reason for the admixture of Javanese neutral forms into the East Java Malay of the Chinese.

This is reinforced by the fact that there is no reason why these forms cannot be replaced by Malay/Indonesian forms otherwise. All of the neutral Javanese forms have Malay/Indonesian equivalents, but of course these are needed to signify politeness and formality. When we look into the forms themselves, it is interesting to note that whereas the lexical items function as indicators of politeness as such, the grammatical items, i.e. affixes, conjunctions, and so forth, function more as indicators of formality. In other words, it is possible to replace Javanese lexical items with Malay/Indonesian items to indicate politeness, but it is also possible to be informal while being polite by using the Javanese grammatical items. Let us look at an example.

- (14) *nèq anu dódóq sana, wé, kuè=né ndaq cocok be=diri ng=ambél séng sini.*  
*/if whatchamacallit sit there, yes, cake=determiner not appropriate*  
*stative-marker=stand active-marker=take relative-clause-marker here/*  
*Sometimes [they] sit at one place, you know, [and] they don't like the*  
*cakes, [so] they stand up and take [some] from another place.*

The neutral Javanese forms here are /nèq/ *if*, /-né/ 'determiner', /ng-/ 'active marker' and /séng/ 'relative clause marker'. On the other hand, the indicator that the utterance is polite East Java Malay is the use of Malay/Indonesian /ambél/ *to take* and the use of the interjection /wé/ *yes*. In neutral East Java Malay, the Malay word /ambéq/ would be used, and instead of /wé/, /yha/ would be used. The use of the neutral Javanese grammatical items in (14), however, makes it an informal utterance. Should the speaker want to make it formal, he would say something like

(15) kalóq anu dudóq sana, wé, kuè=ña tidaq cocok be=diri (me)ng=ambél yang sini.

Note the use of /kalóq/ instead of /nèq/, /-ña/ instead of /-né/, /tidaq/ instead of /ndaq/, and /yang/ instead of /séng/. Note also the way the word for *to sit* is now pronounced /dudóq/ instead of /dódóq/. Example (15) is thus a very formal utterance, and of course also a polite one. From my observation it seems impossible to have a neutral but formal utterance in the Chinese community. To summarise, then, we can conclude that neutral Javanese forms are significant in that the lexical items can be replaced to make utterances polite and that the grammatical items can be used to signify informality within a polite utterance or, when replaced by their Malay/Indonesian equivalents, to signify formality.

It is on this point that I disagree with Rafferty's analysis of her "Indonesianized Javanese" (1984).<sup>18</sup> She argues that this variety did not develop until after 1945, when Indonesia declared independence. It was caused, according to her, by "the decrease in role and prestige of Malay after the departure of the Dutch in 1942 and the increase in importance of Javanese as the informal language of government officials" (p.267). Furthermore, she asserts that "the desire of the Chinese to use Indonesian (a Malay language) may have lessened due to the association of standard Indonesian with a government that is frequently perceived as being anti-Chinese (p.267). I disagree with her on two counts: (1) we have evidence that already in the 19th century (as we shall see in the course of the present work) Chinese and non-Chinese alike, who in Javanese-speaking Java spoke Javanese as a major code, Javanised their Malay considerably, as can be seen from the following quotation of a Javanese servant in a Dutch household from 1879, speaking to her master's daughter:

"Sinija ta Marietje! djangan tidoer nonnah hajoe; makanna doeloe mas; hajo bederija ta! Nèk tramae bediri, nanti baboe bilangké mamahmoe lo!"  
(Come here, Marietje! don't sleep, pretty young lady; have something to eat first; come on, stand up, will you? If you don't stand up, Nanny will tell your Mummy, mind you!)

(Kjahi Goeroe 1879:78)

Note that the underlined suffixes (my underlining) in the example above are of Javanese provenience, and this variety is structurally very similar to present-day Java Malay. Thus, Rafferty's "Indonesianized Javanese" did not develop all of a sudden after 1945, but had already started to be used in the 19th century, when as we shall see later (Section 4.3.1.3), the people of the upper class started using Malay in the family, but Javanised it to make it informal; (2) as we shall see in the course of this work, the evidence suggests that the Chinese show negative feelings towards Javanese in particular, not toward Indonesian in general.

The situation is completely different when it comes to the so-called "impolite forms". As we saw earlier, the use of Javanese as a code in the family among lower-class Peranakan and Totok is considered rude or impolite by the upper-class Peranakan, especially in speaking to elders. But when we talk

about impolite forms of Javanese provenience, we are talking about the use of certain Javanese forms, wedged in a Malay/Indonesian mould, as it were. It is interesting to note that it is the use of these impolite forms that marks sub-ethnic identity in the Chinese community. To begin with, all my Peranakan informants seem to agree that these forms are impolite when used alongside Malay/Indonesian forms. This is corroborated by my observation and recording of their actual language use. No Peranakan would use these forms when intending to speak politely.<sup>19</sup> To many Totok, however, these forms are considered neutral instead of impolite, in the sense that in using them in speaking neutral East Java Malay, they do so comfortably, if only by virtue of their not being privy to the Peranakan system of attenuating politeness. Another explanation could be that the fact that they use Javanese a lot makes them mix these Javanese forms into their Malay/Indonesian. This difference in attitude towards certain Javanese forms is another signifier of subethnic identity. All of my Peranakan informants agree that it is impolite of the Totok to use these forms. Some of them even react in an almost violent way, to the point of regarding it as a personal slight. For example, an upper-class Peranakan man in his 50s sends his employee, a Totok woman in her late 20s, to buy a magazine. When she comes back, the following exchange takes place:

- (16) Totok:        *majala=é dóróng kuar, óm.*  
                       */magazine=determiner not-yet go-out, uncle/*  
                       *They don't have the magazine yet, Sir.*

Peranakan: *nèq omong séng gena po=qo.*  
                       */if talk relative-clause-marker proper what=subjunctive-marker/*  
                       *Can't you speak [more] properly?*

The Peranakan is clearly insulted by the use of the impolite Javanese form */dóróng/ not yet*. He would have liked the Totok to use the Malay */belón/* to signify politeness, especially since she is much younger than he is.

#### 4.2.3.3 Pronouns, pronominals and terms of address

Pronouns of Javanese provenience are used in the different codes used in the Chinese community. When speaking Javanese, */aku/ I*, */koen/, /kon/ or /koé/ you (sg.)*, */dèqé/ he or she* and */kéné/ we (lit. here)* are used. */aku/* and */dèqé/* are also used in neutral East Java Malay, the former being used only among intimates.

When it comes to the use of pronominals and terms of address borrowed from other languages, the majority are of Hokkien provenience. Mandarin and Dutch pronominals and terms of address are also used, but what is really striking is the much less frequent use of Javanese forms. The only exception is a situation where the speaker either does not think that his/her interlocutor is also a Chinese, or considers the situation so public as to demand the use of Javanese pronominals and terms of address.

One of my informants was once addressed with */mas/ older brother*, a term of Javanese provenience, by another Chinese. The context was a reception immediately after the informant gave a formal presentation; the two Chinese did not know each other, and perhaps the other Chinese did not think that the speaker was also Chinese, although it is not unlikely that because of the context of the presentation itself, i.e. a non-ethnic event, the use of */mas/* was considered appropriate. The equivalent for females, */mbaq/ older sister*, and that for younger people



/a)géq/ *younger sibling* are also used. Javanese pronominals and terms of address for older people or people in an official position, /bapaq/ (lit. *father*) or its abbreviated form /paq/ (used as a title before the person's name or as an appellative) and /ibu/ (lit. *mother*) or its abbreviated form /bu/ (used in the same way as /paq/), are also used, and in fact it seems that these are more commonly used between two mutually respecting Chinese than /mas/ or /mbaq/, most likely because /bapaq/ and /ibu/ are also considered Indonesian, but /mas/ and /mbaq/ are still considered Javanese. But again, except for these formal, public occasions, other situations would make the use of Javanese pronominals and terms of address incongruous.<sup>20</sup>

I should here remark on the more frequent use of /bapaq/ and /ibu/ even within the Chinese community as compared to that of /mas/ and /mbaq/. I see this as an indication of the willingness of many Chinese to assimilate into the supra-ethnic modern Indonesian society, but at the same time also that of the reluctance (and perhaps impossibility) of the same people to assimilate into Javanese society.

#### 4.2.3.4 Kinship terms

Most kinship terms used in the Chinese community are of Hokkien provenience, as we will see later when we discuss the function of Hokkien in the next chapter. However, we do find some terms of Javanese provenience. In general, it seems that Hokkien terms are used for people of the ascending generation, and Javanese terms are used for people of the descending generation and those who are younger than ego.<sup>21</sup> I do find one term that may be of Javanese provenience, though, namely that for parent's older sister, /waq/, which I find is also used among some lower-class Javanese, at least. Malay also has a cognate term, /uaq/. In Javanese and Malay, however, this term is used for parent's older sibling, male or female. /waq/ is curiously enough not traceable to any comparable Hokkien kinship term. It is interesting that only /waq/ is not of Hokkien provenience among the kinship terms for the ascending generation.

For the descending generation, one finds that terms of Javanese provenience abound. Although some (especially male) Chinese use the Hokkien term /sé kya/ (/sue<sup>55</sup> kiã<sup>51</sup>/ 細子) or /haw (how) sè/ /hau<sup>11</sup> si<sup>55</sup>/ 后生) to mean *son* or *boy*, most of them use the term /anaq/ *child* to designate their children. The term for *grandchild* is /putu/, for *great-grandchild* /bóyót/, and for *great-great-grandchild* /canggih/. The term for nephews and nieces is /ponaqan/; again gender distinction is not present the way it is when it comes to terms for uncles and aunts (these are mostly of Hokkien provenience, although the Dutch terms /óm/ *uncle* [oom] and /tante/ *aunt* [tante] are gradually replacing the former).<sup>22</sup> The term for *son-* or *daughter-in-law* is the Javanese /mantu/. Curiously, so is the term for *parent-in-law* /morotuo/. There is also a term of Javanese provenience, /bèsan/, meaning *child's parent-in-law*, which signifies a concept that is not found in Chinese culture.

Javanese terms are also used for kin that are younger than ego. The term for younger siblings is /agéq/. It is interesting to note that whereas the gender distinction is kept for the terms for older siblings (i.e. /ngko/ [Hokkien /an<sup>55</sup> kó<sup>55</sup>/ 阿哥] or /kókó/ [Hokkien /kó<sup>33</sup> kó<sup>55</sup>/ 哥哥] *older brother* and /taciq/ [Hokkien /tua<sup>55</sup> ci<sup>31</sup>/ 大姊] or /cici(q)/ [Hokkien /ci<sup>55</sup> ci<sup>51</sup>/ 姊姊] *older sister*), that is not the case for terms for younger siblings. The term for younger siblings-in-law is also the Javanese /ipé/, whereas for older sister-in-law it is a term of Hokkien provenience, /nsó/ or /ngsó/ (/an<sup>55</sup> só<sup>51</sup>/ 嫂嫂). An older brother-in-law is usually referred to as /ngko/ or /kókó/, without any specific designation, or as /bójóné taciq/ *older sister's spouse*.

In referring to one's spouse, when speaking Javanese, the Javanese term /bójó/ is used. The euphemistic /papa=é arèq=arèq/ (*father=possessive-marker child=child*) *the children's father* and /mama=e arèq=arèq/ (*mother=possessive-marker child=child*) *the children's mother* are used, too.

A peculiarly Chinese phenomenon is the use of the suffixes /-dé/, /-nga(h)/ and /-léq/ after kinship terms referring to kin in a descending order of age. These suffixes are, qua forms, of Javanese origin, however. Thus, for example, where one has three older sisters, they can be referred to as /ciq-dé/, /ciq-nga(h)/, and /ciq-léq/. /-dé/ is short for Javanese /gedé/ *large, big*; /-nga(h)/ is short for Javanese /tenga(h)/ *middle*; and /-léq/ is short for Javanese /ciléq/ *small, little*. Now in Chinese culture it is the custom to refer to three kin (e.g. siblings) in a descending order of age as /tua<sup>55</sup> .../ (大 ...), /ji<sup>33</sup> .../ (二 ...), and /sà<sup>55</sup> .../ (三 ...).<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, Javanese uses the suffixes /-dé/ and /-léq/ after terms for *father* and *mother* to refer to parent's older sibling and younger sibling respectively. Peranakan Chinese culture combine the two phenomena and create the use of /-dé/, /-nga(h)/, and /-léq/. It retains the Chinese concept while using Javanese forms. The three suffixes can potentially be used for all those kinship terms where one can have a series of three kin of the same type but differing in age. The only exception is the fact that they are not used for kin that are younger than ego.<sup>24</sup>

#### 4.2.3.5 Javanese names

On 27 December 1966, the Presidium of the Cabinet issued Decree No.127/U/Kep/12/1966, by which the changing of name for Indonesian citizens having Chinese names was bureaucratically facilitated between 1 January 1967 and 31 March 1968. Instead of applying to the Minister of Justice, as had been the case before that (according to Law No.4/1961), a Chinese could just have his/her change of name approved by the Mayor (Walikota) or Regent (Bupati) of his/her place of residence. Many Chinese, voluntarily or otherwise, changed their names into non-Chinese-sounding names. A few did not do so, while others simply reversed the order of the family name and the given name, or wrote the three syllables of their name as a single word. But even before this mass change of name, some Chinese had been given Javanese names, sometimes as nicknames, but often as given names. I found names such as /bola/ *thread*, /tamba/ *increase, add*, /gentong/ *large jar* and so on. These people still retained their Chinese family name, though.

In the 1967-1968 change of name, however, the idea was to obliterate one of the things that identifies a Chinese as such, namely his/her Chinese name.<sup>25</sup> This was done in order to facilitate assimilation into Indonesian culture or local indigenous cultures. First of all, it is interesting to note that all Chinese refer to the new names as "Indonesian names", and very rarely "Javanese names", despite the fact that many of them sound Javanese and are actually used by ethnic Javanese themselves. It is true, actually, that some Chinese Indonesianised the Javanese name they chose by changing the /o/ vowel(s) in the name into /a/(s). For example, instead of choosing a name like /subroto/, which sounds Javanese, they Indonesianised it to become /subrata/. This seems to corroborate my earlier conclusion (Section 4.2.2.3) that as a reflection of their looking down upon ethnic Javanese, the Chinese either are rarely aware of the fact of their using Javanese as a major code (i.e. in the case of lower-class Peranakan and Totok), or deliberately refuse to admit its use as such. They thus see themselves as speakers of Malay/Indonesian first and foremost. In terms of the pressure for Chinese to assimilate, this seems to indicate, as in the case

of the more frequent use of /bapaq/ and /ibu/ than /mas/ and /mbaq/ within the Chinese community, that the Chinese feel willing to and capable of assimilating into Indonesian society, but not necessarily so into Javanese society.

Second, it is even clearer that almost all Chinese who changed their name, when they chose Javanese names, avoided those names that Uhlenbeck (1978c) classifies, according to their phonematics, as names indicating low social category. They adopted the opposite category, namely those names that show high social category among ethnic Javanese. I looked at two booklets that were published with the intention of helping Chinese choose their new names (Alisardjono n.d., Wignjosumarsono 1965). All the names listed in both of the booklets are either names that are neutral when it comes to indicating social category, or names that clearly indicate high social category. Some Chinese even chose aristocratic Javanese names, to the point of provoking laughter and even lawsuits on the part of some Javanese aristocrats.

It would not be too far-fetched to conclude that even in the difficult times of the aftermath of the 30 September Movement's coup attempt, most Chinese, perhaps unconsciously but perhaps also with full awareness, still saw themselves as belonging to a higher social class than the majority of ethnic Javanese.

In addition to choosing the type of Javanese names just mentioned, the majority of Chinese also kept the concept of family names. Therefore, although on the formal level they use Javanese names, on a deeper level they still assert a separate identity by keeping some kind of family name, even though in most cases the family name is also Javanese-sounding.

Furthermore, when it comes to actually using the new name, many Chinese use their Indonesian name only in public, and even then only when dealing with non-Chinese. Thus, when they fill out bureaucratic forms, when they write their address on an envelope, and so forth, they use their Indonesian name, but in private many people still use their Chinese name. Thus, in the case of writing a letter, for example, although the names on the envelope are usually the Indonesian names, inside the envelope on the letter itself the Chinese names are used.

Most Chinese children are still given Chinese names, although usually these are not written on the birth certificate. My informants explained that they wanted to maintain some Chinese identity, but at the same time wanted to save their children from potential discrimination in bureaucratic affairs in the future, something that many of them had felt.

Many Chinese feel that there was no advantage in changing their name because every time they deal with bureaucracies, government or non-government, they still have to put their Chinese name in parentheses after their Indonesian name. Some of my informants, however, especially the younger, Indonesian-educated ones, saw their Indonesian name as an entrée into the larger, Indonesian society, where they hoped no racial discrimination would exist. But this seems to have something to do with their physical appearance. Some Chinese can pass as Javanese or sometimes look even "indigenous" enough (*/ndaq seperti orang tyongwha/ not like a Chinese*), and in such cases an Indonesian name might help them from being discriminated against. But even these people have to show their papers from time to time, and some of those carry their Chinese name.

What annoys many Chinese these days is the fact that when the press publishes accounts about Chinese criminals, their Chinese name is often mentioned in parentheses. They complain that it is not fair, since when a Chinese does something useful for the country, his/her Chinese name is frequently not mentioned, nor the fact that s/he is Chinese (cf. *inter alia* Siau 1981:339).

### 4.3 THE FUNCTION OF MALAY/INDONESIAN

#### 4.3.1 A historical perspective

The historical development that eventually led to the use of Malay/Indonesian as a language of politeness and literacy in Java's Chinese communities could be viewed as having gone through four stages. The first stage is the development of Malay as a lingua franca used in the trading ports of the Archipelago beginning probably with the rise of Malacca in the 15th century. The second stage is the use of Malay by the Dutch colonial power especially after the decline of the use of Portuguese as the lingua franca of the European settlements, towards the end of the 18th century. The third stage is one in which Chinese communities gradually adopted Malay as a language of prestige, literacy and politeness, which went hand in hand with the rise of the Chinese Peranakan upper class in the 19th century. The fourth stage is the development of a situation in which Malay as the language of literacy eventually merged with the so-called Indonesian language, but where it stayed as a language of daily communications in the Chinese communities.

##### 4.3.1.1 Malay as a lingua franca in the archipelago

We do not know how early Malay became a lingua franca in the archipelago. Some scholars have speculated that the language called *kun lun* 昆侖 in the records of visiting Chinese literati, which was said to be used during the reign of the Srīvijaya empire (between 7th and 13th centuries A.D.) in a large part of the archipelago, especially the trading ports, could have been a variety of Malay. (See e.g. de Vries 1980:104.)

We can be more certain that Malay was the language of the port of Malacca, which rose to become a great and prosperous trading entrepôt at the beginning of the 15th century (cf. e.g. Meilink-Roelofs 1962:27-35). We have a Malacca Malay wordlist compiled by Chinese between 1403 and possibly 1511, the oldest one known to date. (See Edwards and Blagden 1931.) Malay traders and sailors were then plying the seas throughout the archipelago, doing a brisk trade at the different ports. One should also remember that Malacca was an Islamic centre as well, so that in many cases trading went hand in hand with efforts to convert people to Islam (Schrieke 1916:27; Meilink-Roelofs 1962:36-115, *passim*).

The different pieces of evidence suggest that Malay was the language used in the trade and proselytisation. One thinks about the *Vocaboli de questi popoli mori* or "Words of the Moorish people", a Malay wordlist compiled by Antonio Pigafetta in 1521 from information that, apparently, he obtained from Ferdinand Magellan's Sumatran slave Enrique while on board ship. (See especially Bausani 1960.) The fact that a Malay-speaking slave was taken on the voyage, in search of the much-wanted spices, seems to indicate that Malay must have been a kind of international language in the area. From the same year and the year after we have two letters, addressed to the Portuguese Governor of Malacca, written in Malay (in Arabic script) by his scribes for Sultan Abu Hayat of Ternate (see Blagden 1930).

St Francis Xavier, among other things, had the following to say about his sojourn in the Maluku Islands from 1545 to 1547:

Malay ..., which is spoken in Malacca, is common in these parts. During my stay there I translated with great difficulty the *Credo* into this Malay and added a short explanation to each article, as well as the *Confessio generalis*,

the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria*, *Salve Regina* and the ten commandments, so that people would understand me when I speak about the important things.... Their written language is Malay with Arabic letters, which the Muslim preachers have taught and are still teaching them. Before they became Muslims, they could not write.<sup>26</sup>

There are indications that Malay was also used in the trading ports of northern Java at the time. Cornelis de Houtman, the leader of the first Dutch expedition to the archipelago (1596), wrote about the importance of Malay there (see e.g. Cense 1978:417). We know that there were Chinese traders' settlements in the ports of northern Java as early as the 14th century, as reported in the *Ying-yai Sheng-lan* 瀛涯胜览 of Ma Huan 马欢 (1416), who sailed in the expeditions of the eunuch Zheng He 郑和 (see e.g. Groeneveldt 1960:45ff). We do not know, however, whether they were already using Malay in communicating with other traders in the ports.

In Malacca a specifically Peranakan Chinese variety developed, called Baba Malay, which enjoyed great prestige on the peninsula for a long time (cf. Shellabear 1913:52; Tan 1979:114-115; 1980). In view of this, it is not accidental that the historian Liem Thian Joe (1933) suspected that the Chinese first settled in Malacca before proceeding to Java, and in this way accounted for the use of Malay in the Chinese communities in Java. We do not know if this is indeed the case, and perhaps Liem's conjecture is rather anachronistic, since it was much later that Malay became the native language of the Peranakan (see below, Section 4.3.1.3). All we can say at this point is that given the use of Malay in late 16th century northern Javanese ports, we can only infer that it is possible that the Chinese traders there also used Malay as a lingua franca.

#### 4.3.1.2 Malay as the colonial language of administration

The eventual use of Malay as a language of literacy and politeness in Java's Chinese communities was in many ways a result of its use as the language of administration by the Dutch. However, when the Dutch first settled in Batavia and indeed until around the end of the 18th century, it was Portuguese that was the lingua franca of their settlement.<sup>27</sup> But even as Portuguese was the language of the European community and their slaves (mostly from India and Burma) in Batavia, Malay was also spoken by indigenous slaves brought in from other parts of the archipelago, such as Bali, Makassar, and the Maluku Islands (see de Haan 1935: 350, 357). Schuchardt (1890), based on his heading of Valentyn's *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën* (5 vols. Dordrecht and Amsterdam, 1724-26, especially vol.IV:II: 1-142, "Zaaken van den Godsdienst op het Eyland Java"), had this to say about the latter:

The newly arrived people from the Land of the Morning would not understand any Malay, but only their 'landtaal' (thus one of the Malay languages in a larger sense); when they came among Christians, they would learn Portuguese, when among heathens or Muslims, Malay.<sup>28</sup>

In fact, right after the founding of Batavia (1619), the church council there suggested that services should also be held in Portuguese and Malay, and even in Chinese and Javanese (Schuchardt 1890:1). And indeed Malay services were always held alongside those in Portuguese and to a lesser extent Dutch, although apparently for a long time Portuguese was the preferred language (de Haan 1935:97-98, 232-233). De Haan pointed out the existence of a schedule of

sermons from 1791, which tells us that at that time one could listen to a reading of the Scriptures in Portuguese on Friday afternoons, although sermons were given in Malay (p.236). It seems also that with the decline in the number of slaves from the West, the use of Malay increased gradually, first among Chinese and slaves (de Haan 1935:406). It seems that Chinese were among the people who did not use Portuguese. Governor-General Valckenier (1737-1741), for example, had to use an interpreter when speaking to Chinese officers. Valckenier spoke Portuguese, and presumably the interpreter translated it into Malay or Chinese (de Haan 1935:621). Sydney Parkinson, a draughtsman in an English expedition in the late 18th century, reported that the general language spoken at Batavia was Malay, which was also used by Chinese. In fact, among the entries in a wordlist he made when he was there, one finds the pronouns *gooa* and *loo*, which are from Hokkien (cf. Section 3.3.5.2, fn.28; the wordlist is in Parkinson 1773:184-194).

The rise of Malay in other parts of Java seemed to be a consequence of the Dutch transferring the administrative heart of their colony from Ambon in the Maluku Islands to Batavia, which was caused by the decline of the spice trade in the middle of the 18th century. From Batavia they gradually spread their influence and power all over Java. When they had to deal with Javanese rulers after consolidating their power over Java in 1757, they used a variety of Malay that was eventually called service Malay (*dienstmaleisch*) (see Hoffman 1979:72).

Thus, Dutch colonialists addressed the indigenous bureaucrats in Malay, and even if they used Dutch, expected to be replied to in *Kromo* Javanese or Malay. It should be noted that this was similar to the upper-class habit in Europe in general. For example, the Russian and Dutch upper class used French among themselves, but spoke Russian or Dutch to servants and other inferiors. It is interesting to note that the Javanese then regarded this phenomenon as an elaboration of their own system of social stratification through language levels (Hoffman 1979:65). In a report submitted in December 1842, Colonial Minister Jean Chrétien Baud had to admit that

making use of the ingrained habit of Low Malay by preference in contacts and conversation with the Javanese ... is the general, and ... continually increasing rule.

(Hoffman 1979:76)

By the middle of the 19th century, it even replaced the correspondence Javanese (*djawaré*) "that had long been *de rigueur* among the Javanese regents" (Hoffman 1979:76). Governor-General Rochussen (1845-1851) even issued official orders for the preference of Malay to the vernaculars in dealing with local rulers. In 1854 a governmental regulation was issued which included an obligation upon the Governor-General to set up schools for the indigenous population, and the medium of instruction was to be Malay (Hoffman 1979:76-77). Malay thus became a language of the bureaucratic elite in the 19th century, although it was still lower than Dutch (Errington 1981:72).

At any rate, by the turn of this century, Malay was recognised as the administrative language of the colony (Hoffman 1979:66). This is a unique phenomenon in the history of colonialism: the Netherlands East Indies was the only colony not administered in the colonial masters' native tongue. One wonders how that came about. For an explanation of the phenomenon, we should first look into the nature of the colonialists, who from the start did not use Dutch as a language of colonisation and administration (cf. Section 5.3.1.1 below). Nor did Christian proselytisation occur on a large scale, by any means. In Batavia, with a population of 20,000 in 1670 and around 16,000 in 1768, one found only six preachers in 1669, eight in 1680, 27 in 1725 (some of whom were waiting to be posted

somewhere else), and 12 in 1749. Towards the end of the 18th century, there were only one or two left (Boxer 1965:140). Also, in 1674, for example, Batavian authorities noted that

most Netherlanders 'foolishly' considered it 'a great honour to be able to speak a foreign language' - unlike their Portuguese predecessors, and their English and French successors as empire-builders. (Boxer 1965:224)

In the Netherlands itself, the Dutch nobility seemed to be fond of "ap[ing] the manners and dress of the French aristocracy", or so noted Sir William Temple in the 17th century (see Boxer 1965:36). In 1612 the Amsterdam Municipal Library had only seven books in Dutch, the others being in Latin. In the second half of the century French literature increased in popularity among the Dutch elite.

In 1685 the Huguenot philosopher and critic, Pierre Bayle, wrote of the northern Netherlands from his refuge at Rotterdam: 'The French language is so well known in this country that more French books are sold here than all others'.

(Boxer 1965:168)

Boxer also states elsewhere that

[b]y the second half of the eighteenth century the gallicisation of the 'ruling few' and those who imitated their way of life was almost complete. Parents corresponded with their children in French, and many people made a point of never reading Dutch literature. (p.185)

With such an admiring attitude towards French and a self-despising attitude towards Dutch, it is not so surprising that from very early on the colonial settlement in Batavia did not speak Dutch, but Portuguese. When Portuguese declined, and as colonialists expanded their sway over Java starting in the middle of the 17th century, the language was again not Dutch, but Malay. It should be noted, though, that United East India Company reports to the Netherlands were written in Dutch, and accounts were also kept in Dutch. In a way, then, Dutch was a secret, privileged language that only a very small group of men mastered.

Furthermore, it was always thought by all kinds of people that Malay was an easy language. Although there was a tradition of orthoepy - a kind of correct Malay, as we can see from the literature (cf. e.g. Hoffman 1979, *passim*), the Malay which was a lingua franca and was widely used in the Archipelago was not subject to this tradition. This was then a working language,<sup>29</sup> used by people for whom correct speech or speech which corresponded to literary norms was of little concern. Thus Malay as a lingua franca was strongly influenced by the native speech of the area in which it was used; speakers tended to influence their Malay with the phonology and grammar of their native language, but more importantly, they slipped in words from their own language for those expressions for which the Malay word did not come readily to mind. Thus arose what was called Low Malay, gibberish Malay, barracks Malay and so on.<sup>30</sup>

For one thing, Malay is an easy second language to learn for a native speaker of one of the Indonesian languages because of similarities of grammatical structure and the relative simplicity of the phonology. Bannink (1915), for example, talking about the use of Malay in the barracks, states that many people thought they could master the language within a month (p.569). The lack of a controlling standard obviously made it easier still to start speaking Malay and mix it with words and expressions from one's own language. Thus, in Bannink's words,

[t]he Javanese or Sundanese Malayise their mother tongue a little bit and the European private - as well as officer - throws in a spoonful of Dutch on top of it.<sup>31</sup>

Thus there developed in Javanese-speaking areas, for example, a Malay with definite Javanese interferences, used by traders, soldiers, administrators, rulers, servants and about anybody else who had to deal with those who did not understand Javanese. Malay also had an advantage over Javanese because it was free from connections with the feudalism of the Javanese aristocracy that the latter had. As Pramoedya argues,

[the pre-Indonesian language] [i.e. Malay] served as a medium or communications language used by foreigners who were not subject to the regulations of the sovereignty of Indigenous feudalism, so that the pre-Indonesian language in Java in its earliest stage of development after the advent of Europeans, became a language of the bourgeois class and the white masters' class, whose position was above the indigenous feudals.<sup>32</sup>

In 1865 Pijnappel was able to state matter-of-factly that what he called Low Malay (*Laag-Maleisch*) was the lingua franca par excellence for just about everyone in the colony:

Europeans of all nations, Asiatics of different races, such as Chinese, Arabs, Hindus, Siamese, indigenes of the farthest apart islands of the archipelago, from Java to New Guinea, from the Philippines to Timor ....<sup>33</sup>

#### 4.3.1.3 The rise of Malay as the language of literacy and politeness in Chinese communities

It was against this backdrop of the development of the use of Malay by the Dutch colonialists that some Chinese switched gradually from Javanese to Malay as the language of literacy and politeness. A number of factors influenced the transition. To begin with, in connection with the Cultivation System (1830-1870), the Dutch decided to reinforce the travel pass system (*passenstelsel*), which virtually ghettoised the Chinese, except for those who held the different farms (revenue, opium, etc.; cf. Section 2.2.5.1). This meant a separation of Chinese and Javanese except in a special sphere.

This separation had to do in turn with the power structure in the Chinese communities. The 19th century was the great age of the Chinese Captains and Majors (see Section 2.2.3.4; cf. also Onghokham 1982). These people were the origins of the Peranakan upper class. One important point to consider, however, is the fact that they mainly only ruled Chinese. Thus, the situation was different from that in the 18th and early 19th centuries, when Chinese magnates ruled the Javanese, some even as *bupati*. (For an example of such practices in East Java, see Onghokham 1982.)

After the massacres of Chinese in 1740 (cf. Kemasang 1982), the Dutch wanted to make sure that no firm alliances were forged between powerful Chinese and powerful local rulers. Since the Chinese were given European-style military ranks, and their administration was taken away from the Javanese, then there was no serious reason to learn the Javanese language levels, which they would have had to do under other circumstances. One exception was the Chinese in the Principalities (*Vorstenlanden*) of Surakarta and Yogyakarta. As stated by Skinner (1961:357):



[t]he power and prestige of the Javanese elite steadily declined during the [19th] century, while the Javanese masses were gently but firmly eased into their new berth at the bottom of the colonial pluralistic social structure. By the 1880s and 1890s, Javanese culture was hardly seen by Peranakans as a prestigious model, and most Peranakans felt so superior to indigenous Indonesians that few indeed were willing to renounce their status as Chinese to become Javanese.

(cf. also Skinner 1960:90-91)

One should also consider that with the rise of the immense wealth of the holders of government farms in the second half of the 19th century (cf. Rush 1977), some Chinese were gradually acquiring the trappings of an upper class, including literacy, social etiquette and so on. Perhaps it was at this time that Malay, which had hitherto been only a working language, had its status raised to becoming a language of politeness, especially given the fact that it was also the administrative language of the colonial masters.

As I mentioned just now, one of the things that wealth brought in the Chinese communities was literacy. A few Chinese families were able to afford the higher tuition charged them in the Malay-medium schools set up by the colonial government in 1854. (See above, Section 4.3.1.2; cf. Salmon 1981:18, citing Albrecht 1881:15.) In 1897, for example, there were only 39 Chinese pupils in Batavia. After 1908, however, the government lifted the restriction, and more Chinese (i.e. those who could not go to the Dutch-medium schools) were admitted into the Malay-medium schools (Williams 1960:37).

But even before that, during the second half of the 19th century, Dutch missionaries and retired civil servants set up private schools, where the medium of instruction was Malay (Suryadinata 1972:51-52). As regards this education in Malay, we are fortunate to have a published account by the prolific writer Lie Kim Hok (1853-1912), who was educated by Dutch missionaries in Malay and Dutch, and subsequently wrote an extensive grammar of what he termed Batavia Malay.<sup>34</sup> Another thing that had a bearing on the rise of Malay as a language of literacy for many people in the Indies in the second half of the 19th century was the rapid increase in printing. When the Suez Canal was opened in 1844, a regular mailboat service run by an English company started to come to Singapore from Europe. This meant that the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* and the *Algemeen Handelsblad* in the Netherlands started publishing special editions for the reading public in Java. There was also a growing trade in Dutch books, and in 1848 E.J.L. Fuhri started a bookstore in Batavia, followed in the same year by W.J. van Haren Noman (Fasseur 1975:4).

In the 1850s, however, there was no freedom of the press in the Indies (Fasseur 1975:6). It was only later in the decade that newspapers were allowed to publish locally, no doubt as a result of the liberalisation in the Netherlands itself and the availability of printing presses that were now easier to transport from Europe (cf. Salmon and Lombard 1974:186-187; Coppel 1977:12). The first newspaper in Malay was *Soerat Kabar Bahasa Melaijoe*, which started publication in Surabaya in 1856. In its second issue the publishers stated that it was intended to be read by the Chinese, Arabs, Malays, and Indians of the trading ports of the eastern part of the north coast of Java. Not long after that, a succession of other newspapers saw publication: in 1858 *Soerat Chabar Betawie* started publication in Batavia, followed by *Selompret Melajoe* in Semarang in 1860. The same year saw the publication of *Bintang Soerabaja*, and two years after that *Bientang Timoor* started publication, also in Surabaya. In 1863 this last newspaper identified its reading public as consisting of the Javanese

official class, Javanese in general, Chinese, and Malays (Hoffman 1979:81, Salmon 1981:19, Soebekti 1958:187).

Those newspapers were usually headed by Eurasians, although some Chinese worked as reporters and assistants to the editors also. It appeared that the advent of literacy and the printed word in Malay eventually sparked literary activities among Peranakan Chinese themselves. A literature in Malay started to flourish in the last quarter of the 19th century.<sup>35</sup> At the beginning of the 20th century, Peranakan Chinese started publishing their own newspapers, and the language used was Malay.<sup>36</sup>

#### 4.3.1.4 Malay and the transition to Indonesian

The advent of the 20th century saw the rise of nationalism among the indigenous people of the Indies. Malay, the language of colonial administration, was gradually adopted as the supraethnic, supraregional language of indigenous nationalism. It is important to note that the term "Chinese Malay" had not come into use at this time. In October 1928 youth leaders from all over the archipelago held a Youth Congress, and on 28 October issued the now-famous Youth Oath of one nation, one homeland, and one language. The youth leaders changed the name of (working) Malay into Indonesian, a term that had started to be used by the group *Jong Java* (Young Java) a few months before that.<sup>37</sup>

Although some Chinese participated in this nationalist movement from the start, there was a parallel but separate nationalist movement in the Chinese community. In 1908, the colonial Dutch government set up a commission to provide the population with "quality reading materials". They seemed to have been somewhat alarmed by the rise of private publications by the Chinese. The commission, called *Commissie voor de Volkslectuur* (Commission for People's Literature) or *Balai Pustaka*, employed a few Sumatran editors in order to provide the readers with materials in "good Malay". It was partly because of this trend to purify Indies Malay and partly because of what the indigenous nationalists saw as a separate nationalist movement in the Chinese community that the Malay as used by the Chinese was viewed as a different variety, and labelled "Chinese Malay" (cf. Salmon 1980:180).

Malay as used by the Chinese was derogatorily called *bahasa tjaptjay chop suey language* or *bahasa gado-gado mish-mash language* by educated indigenous people. It was probably true that Peranakan writers writing in Malay were outside the Balai Pustaka standardisation movement, but even a brief look at the Indonesian writings of the nationalist leaders from Java should convince anyone that the latter used a variety of Malay as deviant from the Balai Pustaka standard as that used by Peranakan writers. It is probably fairer to speak of a Java Malay or Java Indonesian shared by Chinese and non-Chinese alike, except of course for the use of Hokkien loanwords in the variety used by the Chinese (Salmon 1980, *passim*). For the Chinese, too, using Malay was a process of constant learning, of constantly improving their Malay to a certain standard, albeit not that of Balai Pustaka. The translator Boen Sing Hoo of Semarang (Central Java), for example, prefaced his 1885 translation of the Chinese story *Soen Pien Bang Kwan* 孙安庞渭 with the following remarks:

Due to many friends' requests, I have changed the usage of *loe* and *goewa* [i.e. *you* and *I*, of Hokkien provenience] into *kamoe* and *kami* [i.e. *you* and *polite I*, *we* in Malay], starting in this second book. I hope all my reader-friends will be aware of this.<sup>38</sup>

Alisjahbana (1957) and Pane (1935), writing in the mid-1930s, both expressed positive views on the similarities between "Chinese Malay" and Indonesian. They also predicted that eventually the two varieties would merge into a standard Indonesian. One should not forget that the Chinese publications were also read by non-Chinese (cf. e.g. Later 1915:1265), and that some indigenous nationalists wrote in the Chinese papers to gain a larger audience (cf. especially Suryadinata 1971:3).

After Indonesia gained independence in 1945, the term "Malay", even for the variety used by the Chinese, started giving way to "Indonesian". The term *Melayu* 'Malay' has since then acquired a low-status, self-deprecatory connotation. Thus, when Indonesians call themselves *Melayu* these days, they are wryly saying how backward they are and so on. The increase of Indonesian-medium education among the Chinese also helped them standardise their (at least written) variety of Malay/Indonesian. In fact, Chinese students tend to have an advantage over their Javanese counterparts in the Javanese-speaking areas because the latter grow up using Malay/Indonesian in fewer situations than the Chinese. By this one should not construe that nowadays only Indonesian is spoken in the Chinese community, though. As we saw in Section 4.2, the picture is much more complex than that. Briefly, one can say that even though the Chinese, in certain situations, standardise their variety of Malay/Indonesian, they also maintain the use of their own variety, as we shall see below.

#### 4.3.2 The Malay/Indonesian continuum

We have just examined the historical development of Malay into Indonesian. That is not to say, however, that pre-Indonesian Malay has completely given way to Indonesian in the sense that we no longer find features of that Malay used in what is termed Indonesian these days. As a matter of fact, some people, especially older ones, tend to call the language they use Malay (/omong mlayu/ or /cara mlayu/) instead of Indonesian (/omong éndónésya/ or /bahasa éndónésya/), perhaps because they feel that the new variety is not very different from whatever it is that they have been used to.

Generally speaking, most Chinese, especially those who are Indonesian-educated, try to speak the "best" Indonesian they can muster when speaking in public or in non-ethnic situations. Older people, who were educated in Dutch- and Mandarin-medium schools, tend to feel not so comfortable in speaking Indonesian, and hence fall back on the pre-Indonesian Malay they know in many such situations. Thus, as we shall see in the course of the exposition on the function of Malay/Indonesian, when we talk about people speaking Indonesian, quite often it is a range of varieties between the most formal and polite East Java Malay and informal East Java Indonesian or even standard Indonesian. It is precisely for this reason that the rather cumbersome term Malay/Indonesian is used here to refer to this range of varieties that the native speakers would refer to sometimes as Malay and other times as Indonesian.

And indeed in terms of the internal structure, there are only few differences between the pre-Indonesian variety and what has evolved into modern Indonesian. But first we should keep in mind that we are here talking about Malay/Indonesian as used in a Javanese-speaking area, which means that whether people call the language Malay or Indonesian, it still has specific features that originate in the structure of the Javanese of the particular area. For one thing, the majority of speakers of Malay/Indonesian speak it with a Javanese phonology. More generally, these people use a certain amount of Javanisms in the morphology, syntax, and lexicon.

In spite of these Javanisms, however, one can still distinguish different varieties of Malay/Indonesian as spoken in East Java. They form a continuum ranging from what is here called informal neutral Totok East Java Malay to informal neutral Peranakan East Java Malay to informal polite East Java Malay (where Peranakan and Totok use grammatically and lexically very similar varieties of East Java Malay), where a speaker can move back and forth along the informality axis while maintaining his/her position on the politeness axis, on to formal polite East Java Malay and further to different varieties of what most people would refer to as East Java Indonesian and even standard Indonesian. The notion of a continuum is needed to explain the varieties because indeed speakers tend to shift between varieties, although obviously there are certain limits to this, which I will elaborate below.

#### 4.3.2.1 Informal neutral Totok East Java Malay

The variety at the one extreme of the continuum is the variety where the phonology, the affixes, and the syntactic structures are Javanese, and where the lexical items consist of mostly neutral Javanese forms, a few impolite Javanese forms, some Malay forms and some Indonesianisms (noted below). A typical example of this variety is the following sentence:

- (17) *pe=kerja=qan=é céq kyan ték góróng taq=bawaq gi sana.*  
 /nominalising-circumfix=work=determiner *uncle kyan ték not-yet I=take to there/*  
*I haven't taken Mr Kyan Té's assignment over there.*

We find in (17) the Javanese affixes /-é/ and /taq-/ and the lexical item /góróng/, but the other forms are Malay except for the Indonesianism /pe-kerja-qan/. The pre-Indonesian Java Malay equivalent of this last form is /kerja-qan/. Since (17) was said by a Totok (the use of /góróng/, considered an impolite Javanese form by the Peranakan, is the determining feature), I will call this variety *informal neutral Totok East Java Malay*.

#### 4.3.2.2 Informal neutral Peranakan East Java Malay

The mere replacement of /góróng/ by /belón/ gives us a different variety, usually but not exclusively used by Peranakan Chinese.<sup>39</sup> In this variety, no impolite Javanese forms are used, except when special effects are intended (q.v. below, when the shifts between codes are discussed). We thus have Javanese phonology, affixes, syntactic structures, but only neutral Javanese lexical items and Malay/Indonesian lexical items. Thus, the idea in (17) will be rendered in this way in this variety:

- (18) *pe=kerja=qan=é céq kyan ték belón taq=bawaq gi sana.*

I will call this variety *informal neutral Peranakan East Java Malay*. As mentioned above, this variety is not used exclusively by Peranakan Chinese. Some Totok Chinese also use this variety, especially but not necessarily when speaking to Peranakan. Ethnic Javanese who have frequent contacts with Chinese also use it when speaking to the latter. I have also observed its use among educated, upper-class Javanese, at least in families where the use of Indonesian is encouraged in lieu of Javanese, but where, presumably, the use of standard informal

Indonesian would be considered too stiff. In fact, it is quite likely that this variety is rapidly becoming what we can probably call informal neutral Java Indonesian, used generally in Indonesia-oriented families and communities in Java's urban centres (which incidentally would be an interesting subject for future research). The difference with the case of the non-Chinese variety would be the replacement of /gi/ with /ke/, especially in the usage of the educated.

#### 4.3.2.3 Informal polite East Java Malay

Let us now shift our attention to yet another variety, which consists of Javanese phonology, a limited number of high-frequency Javanese affixes and lexical items (noted below), but mostly of Malay/Indonesian affixes and lexical items. The following sentence,

(19) pe=kerja=qan=é céq kyan ték belón saya=bawaq gi sana.

may be said by a Chinese who is trying to be polite to the interlocutor and yet wants to maintain informality. Note that Javanese /taq-/ in (17) and (18) is replaced by Malay/Indonesian /saya-/ in (19). Indeed in this variety, which I will call *informal polite East Java Malay*, the majority of neutral Javanese forms are replaced by Malay forms, or sometimes even Indonesian forms. (The significance of the use of Indonesian forms is discussed below.) Interestingly enough, there are only a limited number of neutral Javanese forms that are used to signify informality in this polite variety of East Java Malay, but they are very frequently used forms. In Table 4.1 below are listed the forms that definitely make the East Java Malay an informal but polite variety when used alongside Malay forms.

Table 4.1: Javanese forms signifying informality in polite East Java Malay

JAVANESE	MALAY/INDONESIAN	
aé	aja, saja	<i>only</i>
dadi	jadi	<i>to become</i>
dèqé	dia	<i>he, she, it</i>
dèwèq	sendiri	<i>alone</i>
-é ~ -né	-ña	determiner, nominaliser, possessive marker, etc.
nèq	kalóq	<i>if, when</i>
-no ~ -qno	-ken, -kan	transitive, benefactive marker, etc.
séng	ñang, yang	relative clause marker
taq-	saya-	<i>I</i>

It should be noted in passing here that some men may use the Hokkien-derived form /wé/, /ówé/ or /uwé/ instead of /saya/; but this variation is discussed when we look into the function of Hokkien in the following chapter. It should also be mentioned here that my observations seemed to indicate that once people use the polite varieties, there is no longer a distinction between a Totok and a Peranakan variety, except of course for the fact that forms from different Chinese dialects are used to signify the subethnic identities. (See the discussion in the following chapter.)

#### 4.3.2.4 Formal polite East Java Malay

Continuing our discussion of the Malay/Indonesian continuum, let us now look at the variety where the phonology and the syntactic structures are Javanese, but otherwise the lexical items are all Malay/Indonesian. Let us still use the same example, but this time replace the Javanese affix /-é/ with /-ña/.

(20) pe=kerja=qan=ña céq kyan ték belón saya=bawaq gi sana.

Such a sentence may be said by a Chinese when speaking to someone in a formal, polite manner. Notice that the only typically Chinese form left in (20) is /gi/. A non-Chinese (again except for those who have had frequent contacts with Chinese) would use /ke/ instead of /gi/. I will call this variety *formal polite East Java Malay*, with a note that it is almost exclusively used by Chinese.

#### 4.3.2.5 Informal East Java Indonesian

This seems to me, and to all my informants for that matter, a clear cut-off point between the continuum of varieties people will call Malay or Indonesian, and the next part of the Malay/Indonesian continuum that people definitely call Indonesian. In other words, some of my (especially younger) informants tended to call the former part of the continuum Indonesian, but upon my further questioning they usually agreed that the name Malay could also be used to refer to it. What my informants confidently called Indonesian turned out to be the variety that could objectively be called *informal East Java Indonesian*, the "East Java" attribute referring mostly to the phonology and other Javanisms. Thus, the formal polite East Java Malay sentence (20) has as its equivalent in informal East Java Indonesian a sentence such as the following:

(21) pe=kerja=qan=ña céq kyan ték belóm saya=bawaq ke sana.

Note that the Malay /belón/ is rendered as /belóm/, and the specifically Chinese preposition /gi/ is rendered as /ke/; however, /bawaq/ retains its final /q/, which is a feature of Javanism. Also, /belón/ would remain especially if the speaker is not so educated.

#### 4.3.2.6 Other varieties of Indonesian

But still we continue to have a continuum between a variety where phonological and syntactic Javanisms abound (including typically Javanese interjections and particles) but where otherwise the lexical items are entirely of Indonesian provenience, all the way through to a variety where even the phonology is no longer Javanese. With regard to our last example (21), we can talk about deleting the /q/ at the end of /bawaq/, giving us standard Indonesian /bawa/. We can further talk about suppressing the pharyngealisation of the /b/s in /belóm/ and /bawa/, and even replacing the /ó/ of /belóm/ with /u/, rendering it as /belum/.

In general, then, we can talk about an alternation between two patterns where the first pattern signifies informality and/or regional identity and the second one, formality and/or national identity, in the use of Malay/Indonesian. In Table 4.2 below these two patterns are juxtaposed to give an idea of how informality and formality as well as regional and national identities interplay.

It should be noted, however, that the instances of variation between the two patterns are numerous indeed, and depend on diverse factors. But these will be discussed later on when we look into variations as such.

Table 4.2: Informal-formal and regional-national alternation patterns

INFORMAL-REGIONAL	FORMAL-NATIONAL	
-CeC# dalem	-CaC# dalam	<i>in, inside</i>
Ø- ujan	h- hujan	<i>rain</i>
N- nakuti	meN- menakuti	<i>to scare</i>
-Vq# bawaq	-V# bawa	<i>to carry</i>
apico-alveolar /t̪/ kot̪aq	apico-dental /t/ kotaq	<i>box</i>
apico-dental /d/ badan	apico-alveolar /d̪/ baɖan	<i>body</i>
-V# ruma	-Vh# rumah	<i>house</i>
CóCÓC cókóp	CuCÓC cukóp	<i>enough</i>
CéCéC kérém	CiCéC kirém	<i>to send</i>
ke- ke-pókól	ter- ter-pukól	<i>to be hit</i>
CóCÓ- tólóng	CoCo- tolong	(limited) <i>to help, please</i>
pharyngealised voiced stops	non-pharyngealised voiced stops	

There are some more alternating forms, such as /ampat/ ~ /empat/ *four* and /anem/ ~ /enam/ *six*, for example, but these seem to have more to do with generational differences, in the sense that as Malay developed into Indonesian, the latter forms, taught in Indonesian-medium schools, seemed to be gradually taking over the former ones.

The phenomenon known as spelling pronunciation should also be mentioned. People who have had Indonesian-medium education or who through their occupation have had frequent contacts with written Indonesian in various situations tend to pronounce certain forms according to how they are spelled. For example, the letter <k> is used to represent the phoneme /q/ as well as /k/ in standard Indonesian spelling. Thus, in my corpus there are instances in which people speak highly formal Indonesian and pronounce forms like /anaq/ *child* as [anak]. Another example concerns the letters <i> and <u>, which in standard Indonesian spelling represent the phonemes /i/ and /é/ (i.e. in closed syllables) and /u/ and /ó/ (i.e. also in closed syllables) respectively. Thus people would pronounce

a word like /belóm/ *not yet* as [belum] and a word like /kawén/ *to marry* as [kawin] when speaking in highly formal Indonesian.

To add to the already complicated situation, there is the influence of Jakarta Indonesian, which is all-pervasive in modern Indonesian life through its use in films, television, and certain sections of the press. I shall discuss briefly below the use of and attitudes towards this variety of Indonesian in the Chinese community of Pasuruan.

It is important to remember also that the Chinese are members of Indonesian society as well, so that especially the Indonesian-educated members of the Chinese community and those who have frequent contacts with the institutions of the supra-regional, supraethnic Indonesian society, together with members of other ethnic groups, frequently use the non-ethnic, non-regional variety of Indonesian. But all Indonesians have a non-national background in their family and community life, and it is here that the different varieties signifying informality and/or regionality come into play.

#### 4.3.3 Malay/Indonesian as a code

##### 4.3.3.1 Use of informal neutral East Java Malay among upper-class Peranakan

Earlier on we examined how Javanese is to a large part of the Chinese community of Pasuruan a code that functions in situations where politeness and formality are not called for or are irrelevant. Nevertheless, there are certain members of the community to whom Javanese is not acceptable even in such a function. The upper-class Peranakan definitely expect that East Java Malay be used in the family, even in very informal situations. Also, even some very intimate upper-class Peranakan friends use Malay/Indonesian when speaking to one another.

The following dialogue, for example, is taken from a 15-minute conversation between a Peranakan man in his mid-20s (A), his mother (B), and his grandmother (C). The conversation takes place in the family's store on a Sunday afternoon, when it is closed; the three people are of course very close to one another.

- (22) A: lha itu fètsin tu kata=né ada séng bilang ng=gara=i kangker.  
*/well that monosodium-glutamate that word=determiner exist relative-clause-marker say active-marker=cause=transitive-marker cancer/*  
*Well, they say, some people say, MSG causes cancer.*
- C: lha itu tante hong tu ndaq mau pakéq skarang, sué koq.  
*/well that aunt hong that not want use now, long argumentative-particle/*  
*Well, Mrs Hong refuses to use [it] now; [she hasn't used it] for a long time, you know.*  
 nèq orang ndésa gitu, wong pakiq=é saq=dumél.  
*/if people village so, whereas use=nominatiser one=bit/*  
*It's different with villagers; [they only] use very little [of it].*  
 yha arang=arang.  
*/also rare=rare/*  
*[They] hardly ever [use it].*
- B: séng pakéq=é akè itu lhó, orang masaq=an tyongwha itu, lhó.  
*/relative-clause-marker use=nominatiser much that you-know, people cook=nominatiser chinese that, you know/*  
*They use [it] a lot in Chinese cooking, you know.*

The conversation is entirely in informal neutral East Java Malay, and it is just unthinkable for these people to speak Javanese with one another the way Totok and lower-class Peranakan speak among intimate relatives.



We also know, though, that some upper-class Peranakan do use Javanese when speaking with intimate friends. Upon closer observation, it usually turns out that the friend(s) the Peranakan are speaking with are either lower-class Peranakan or Totok. This is not always the case, however. When in doubt, Malay/Indonesian is safer to use than Javanese, since the latter may offend some upper-class Peranakan (cf. example (16)). When Totok and lower-class informants were asked what they think about the use of East Java Malay even among intimates among the upper-class Peranakan, they invariably showed a neutral attitude. Those who are Indonesian-educated actually tended to have the opinion that ideally people should use "the national language" (/bahasa nasional/), meaning of course Indonesian. But again the ideal remains an ideal. Very few people actually use informal East Java Indonesian to other Chinese except in an ethnically neutral setting.

#### 4.3.3.2 Use of informal neutral East Java Malay between Peranakan and Totok

In my corpus is an example of a conversation that takes place when an upper-class Peranakan man in his late 20s goes to have his hair cut by a Totok hairdresser who is the former's neighbour. There is no reason for the variables of distance and power to come into play in the situation, so the conversation is in informal neutral East Java Malay.

- (23) Hairdresser: lhó laq séq tas potong?  
                   /particle-of-surprise isn't-it still just cut/  
                   Haven't [you] just had a haircut?  
                   mosoq wés saq-bulan.  
                   /you-don't-say already one=month/  
                   It hasn't been a month already, has it?
- Peranakan: sudah.  
                   /already/  
                   [Actually] it has been [a month].
- Hairdresser: mosoq si?  
                   /you-don't-say inquisitive-particle/  
                   Really?
- Peranakan: rasa=né.  
                   /feel=determiner/  
                   [I] think so.  
                   lebih bèqé.  
                   /more perhaps/  
                   Perhaps [even] more.
- Hairdresser: séq tas.  
                   /still just/  
                   [It seems like] it was only recently [that I cut your hair].  
                   ngko séq pigi.  
                   /older-brother still go/  
                   My husband was away [then].
- Peranakan: iyha, waktu itu séq gi mbali, yha?  
                   /yes, time that still to Bali, yes/  
                   That's right; [he] was going to Bali then, wasn't [he]?

As one might expect, although both the Totok hairdresser and the Peranakan young man speak informal neutral East Java Malay, they speak slightly different varieties. The Totok uses Javanese words that are considered impolite by the Peranakan in general, such as /tas/ *just now* and /wés/ *already*. A Peranakan would use /baru/ and /sudah/ respectively (and in fact note that the Peranakan uses /sudah/ in reply to the Totok's question using /wés/).

#### 4.3.3.3 Choice between informal neutral East Java Malay and Javanese by upper-class Peranakan

When I examine my upper-class informants, recorded as using Javanese with one another, there seems to be an indication that these people are less concerned with upper-class, elite Peranakan values, such as keeping a distance from the lower class, social climbing and so on. Among my informants, for example, were three brothers of whom two speak Javanese with their intimate friends while the other one consistently speaks Malay/Indonesian with his. Note that all three of them speak exactly the same variety of Malay/Indonesian at home. I happened to know them intimately since we grew up together and were schoolmates and play-mates, so I began to examine them more carefully, and sure enough the two boys who use Javanese tended to break the parents' rules more often, to get into mischievous situations and so forth, whereas the one boy who uses Malay/Indonesian tended to be more obedient and liked spending time with the family at home and keeping his mother company in the kitchen or when she was doing needlework. As a matter of fact, among upper-class Peranakan females in the Chinese community of Pasuruan it is only rarely that we find them speaking Javanese with one another.

#### 4.3.3.4 Use of informal neutral East Java Malay among Totok

Turning our attention to the use of Malay/Indonesian among Totok in informal, neutral situations, there are in my corpus instances of Totok who are contemporaries of one another using their variety of informal neutral East Java Malay. When asked why they used East Java Malay instead of Javanese, these people tended to give the typical explanation that it is, after all, the national language (since they consider their variety of East Java Malay part of Indonesian). But this explanation is obviously not very satisfactory; looking at the relationships between the speaker and the hearer seems to lead to the conclusion that for these Totok, East Java Malay functions to signify a slight degree of distance between the speaker and the hearer. Those who use Javanese tend to have no distance at all between one another, but those who use East Java Malay still do. In the following conversation, for example, the distance seems to be signified by the use of a polite term of address and the polite word for 'yes':

(24) A: papa=é skarang ndéq mana?

/father=possessive-marker now in where/

Where's your father now?

B: papa=é ndéq sini, ndéq dokter low itu.

/father=possessive-marker in here, in doctor low that/

He's here, close by Dr Low's.

A: ndéq dokter low situ.

/in doctor low there/

[Oh, I see], close by Dr Low's.

B: wé.

/I/

That's right.

A: tókó=é ndaq sido di=bukaq?

/store=possessive-marker not carried-out-as-planned passive-marker=open/

[I hear you] didn't open the store as you planned to, is that right?

B: ndaq.  
 /not/  
 No, we didn't.

A: ndaq bukaq?  
 /not open/  
 [So you] didn't open [it]?  
 séng alat=alat mesén anu sénger itu?  
 /relative-clause-marker tool=tool machine whatchamacallit Singer that/  
 The one that [was to sell] Singer machine equipment?

B: ndaq, ko tan.  
 /not older-brother tan/  
 No, Mr Tan.

Note the use of the polite term of address /ko tan/ (lit. *Older Brother Tan*) and the polite word for *yes* /wé/ by B. One may argue that perhaps it is not distance that comes into play here, but power (i.e. age difference). However, I have observed people of differing ages doing without the politeness signified by the forms mentioned just now and speaking Javanese with one another. It is also interesting to note that although the two men above are Totok, they are more Indonesia-oriented than most Totok. B had an entirely Indonesian education up to high school, and A's family, especially A and his wife, are social climbers, which usually implies that they are becoming bourgeois and acquiring Peranakan values (especially upper-class, elite values).

Generally speaking, whereas on the one hand upper-class Peranakan express an attitude of condescension towards the use of Javanese in the family, the analogous attitude is entirely lacking in the Totok and lower-class Peranakan when it comes to the use of Malay/Indonesian in the family. In fact, everyone I asked seemed to agree that Malay/Indonesian is the language to use when one wants to signify politeness.

#### 4.3.3.5 Use of polite East Java Malay: informal and formal

In Section 4.3.2 we discussed how there are at least two varieties (i.e. excluding the varieties we may call Indonesian), namely the informal variety and the formal variety. The informal variety is used when politeness is called for, but where no formality is necessary. It is used both by Totok and Peranakan, albeit in slightly different ways (noted below), when the variables of distance and power come into play.

The distance between the speaker and the hearer creates a situation where politeness is called for, which in turn requires the use of polite East Java Malay. This may be caused by various factors, one of which is gender difference. In same-gender settings people tend to be more comfortable about using the neutral variety of East Java Malay, but otherwise there is an atmosphere of slight tension that requires the use of the polite variety. This is not surprising given the fact that gender segregation is practised in the Chinese community, albeit far less extremely than in some other cultures. The nature of the relationship between the speaker and the hearer may also be a factor creating distance between them. This is obvious in situations where the speaker and the hearer are strangers.

The power relationship between the speaker and the hearer may also require politeness. It seems, however, that distance is a more significant variable in calling for politeness, since there were situations where power (in the form of age difference or employer-employee relationship) was only reflected in the use of polite terms of address and pronominals, while the rest of the utterances as such remained the neutral variety (cf. example (24)).

The only case where power is clearly significant in calling for politeness seems to be when class difference is present between the speaker and the hearer. In the following conversation, a lower-class Peranakan woman who used to receive assignments from an upper-class Peranakan woman store-owner to make ready-made children's clothing comes into the latter's store and remarks on the changes in it. A is the lower-class woman, and B is the store-owner.

- (25) A: bañaq br=oba=né, saya, ciq, tókó=né.  
 /much stative-marker=change=nominaliser, I, older-sister, store=determiner/  
*There have been a lot of changes in the store, haven't there?*
- B: iyha, déq lin, séng tempat=é spatu=spatu itu apa, taq=bongkar.  
 /yes, younger-sister lin, relative-clause-marker place=possessive-marker shoe=shoe that what, I=renovate/  
*That's right, Lin, I renovated the shoe department.*

Note that A uses the Malay/Indonesian form /bañaq/ *much* (instead of the neutral Javanese /akèh/), which is enough to signify politeness. In addition, she uses the polite East Java Malay /saya/ instead of the neutral /yha/, which is later used by the upper-class store-owner. The latter also uses another Malay/Indonesian form signifying politeness, namely /tempat/ *place* (neutral Javanese /nggèn/ or /nggon/). However, the two women do use Javanese forms signifying informality, namely the suffix /-né/ 'possessive marker, etc.', the relative clause marker /séng/ and the prefix /taq-/ *I*, which in the formal variety are replaced by /-ña/, /ñang/ or /yang/, and /saya-/ respectively (cf. Table 4.1).

One might argue that perhaps it is age difference that calls for politeness in (25), but I tend to believe that it is still class difference that plays the more important role there. I have observed A's mother, for example, speaking with B in polite East Java Malay. One then wonders if it is the fact that A was at one time B's employee that calls for the politeness. This is not so easy to determine, since it is mostly lower-class people that are employed by upper-class people, but I did find a case where an impoverished upper-class Peranakan woman worked for the same store-owner in (25), and it seemed that she was more free and comfortable using neutral East Java Malay. In the following conversation, the two women are talking about a parcel of baby clothes that the poorer woman (C) took with her to embroider for the richer woman (B):

- (26) B: yaq=apa, swat, pakèyan bayi=né, apa sudah mari yhé bordüür?  
 /like=what, swat, clothes baby=determiner, question-particle already finished you-singular embroider/  
*So, Swat, did you finish embroidering those baby clothes?*
- C: suda se=bagian, kim, cumaq=é ntiq aé taq=stor=no nèq suda mari kabè.  
 /already one=part, kim, only=determiner later only I=deliver=transitive-marker if already finished all/  
*[I've finished] part [of them], Kim, but I'd rather deliver them later when [I've] finished [them] all.*

B: cepet=an titiq, yha?  
 /fast=more little, yes/  
 Do it a little faster, will you?

Note that in addition to the use of neutral East Java Malay, the polite use of /ciq/ *older sister* and /déq/ *younger sibling* is entirely lacking; as a matter of fact, they both use each other's given name as terms of address and B uses the Dutch pronoun /yhé/ (*jij informal you*) in their speech. Since C and B are both of the same class background, and perhaps knew each other well as children, the use of neutral East Java Malay between them signifies class solidarity, which does not exist in the relationship between A and B in (25).

It is interesting to note that the politeness called for by the power difference between upper-class and lower-class people in the Chinese community is mutual politeness, in the sense that A and B in (25), for example, signify politeness to each other. This implies that distance is a more significant factor in calling for politeness than power as such. If it were purely power that determined the use of polite East Java Malay, then someone like B in (25) need not reply in polite East Java Malay when addressed in it by someone of the lower class like A. S/he could then simply reply in neutral East Java Malay. The mutual politeness between people like A and B, then, seems to stem from the fact that they are from different class backgrounds. As mentioned several times during the course of this work, upper-class Peranakan tend to keep a distance from lower-class Peranakan, and it is this distance that determines the mutual politeness between them.

Upon closer scrutiny of my corpus, however, it turns out that class difference is more important among the Peranakan than among the Totok. Totok upper-class business owners also employ some lower-class Totok, but the latter do not seem to use the polite variety of East Java Malay and often even use Javanese in speaking with the employers. There is, then, an important difference in the way Totok and Peranakan view class distinction in the community, and it shows in their language use. Many of my informants agreed with the assertion that the Totok are less class-conscious (/ndaq mbèdaq-mbèdaqken kaya apa méskén/ *not to distinguish the rich from the poor*). Let us look at the following dialogue, where a female lower-class Totok employee at a camera and film-processing store (A) is talking with her employer, a Totok man (B).

- (27) A: koh, isa, ko, dateng slayt di=cuci.  
 /older-brother, able, older-brother, from slide passive-marker=wash  
 Do they process slides?  
 B: isa bèqé.  
 /able perhaps/  
 They may be able to.

Note that A and B both use /isa/, the neutral East Java Malay form for *able* (polite Malay/Indonesian /bisa/), and that B uses neutral Javanese /bèqé/ *perhaps* instead of the polite Malay/Indonesian /barangkali/. Peranakan informants considered the use of neutral East Java Malay in a situation such as (27) acceptable. On the other hand, Totok informants did not readily recognise the use of polite East Java Malay in (25) as reflecting class difference.

Returning to the question of the signifying of informality by replacing certain Malay/Indonesian grammatical forms with their Javanese equivalents (Section 4.3.2.3), it should be noted that the replacement is carried out variably, in the sense that one could observe people continually varying between

using the Malay/Indonesian forms and the Javanese forms. Apparently this variation can be accounted for by the fact that the forms which signify informality need not be used exclusively, but rather that a certain number should occur from time to time as a sign that the conversation is on an informal level. As a matter of fact, in my corpus there is no polite conversation that is not "spiced up" by informalities. On the other hand, obviously the use of the formal Malay/Indonesian forms also serves as a reminder that the informality is still constrained by politeness.

#### 4.3.3.6 Use of Malay/Indonesian in interactions with non-Chinese

Thus far we have only discussed the use of East Java Malay when both the speaker and the hearer are Chinese. As mentioned in Section 4.2.2.2, more and more lower-class Javanese, especially those who have had contacts with modern Indonesian through education, occupation, or exposure to the mass media, speak Malay/Indonesian to the Chinese. It is interesting to note that many of the younger ones, since they have been educated in Indonesian, speak a variety of Malay/Indonesian that is a combination of informal polite East Java Malay and informal East Java Indonesian, as it were. The phonetic quality of their phonemes, the affixes and syntactic structures they use are the same as those that make up informal polite East Java Malay, but their lexical items and their pronunciation of them are Indonesian, most likely because it is this variety of Indonesian that they learned at school and in the society at large. Based on observation, it seems that those who have just come from the rural areas, where almost no East Java Malay is used, tend not to use the Javanese affixes, but it seems that as soon as they hear the Chinese and other lower-class Javanese use them, they quickly adopt the habit.

To these lower-class Javanese, Chinese use neutral East Java Malay, and interestingly many lower-class Javanese now often reply in a variety that very much resembles informal polite East Java Malay. Thus, this is different from the mutual use of neutral East Java Malay among relatives, for example, where the variable of distance is attenuated so that the younger (less powerful in terms of age difference) can use neutral East Java Malay except for certain polite pronominals and terms of address, in reply to the older relatives' use of neutral East Java Malay. In cases where the lower-class Javanese is older or of approximately the same age, it is possible that s/he uses neutral East Java Malay also.

It is significant that in interactions between two Chinese under normal circumstances (i.e. except for situations when one or more participants are in danger), politeness and formality are always exchanged symmetrically, in the sense that both speaker and hearer are mutually polite, mutually formal or mutually informal, even when one of them is less powerful in terms of age, employment and so on. The situation is different, however, when it comes to Chinese interactions with lower-class Javanese: the exchange of politeness (and rarely, formality) is asymmetrical, the Chinese usually in a more powerful position. However, as we saw in Section 4.2.2.5, some upper-class Javanese may use Javanese to a less powerful Chinese (i.e. if the latter is younger and/or the former's subject, student and so on), and the Chinese would reply in polite Malay or even Indonesian. This schema of symmetric and asymmetric exchanges of politeness and formality reflects the position of the Chinese between the ruling indigenous upper class and the lower class.

Thus, when the Chinese do not use Javanese in speaking to the Javanese and other non-Chinese (cf. Section 4.2.2.5), they use Malay/Indonesian. The variety

that is most likely used is formal polite East Java Malay, or informal East Java Indonesian, which are very close to each other in many ways, in any case. Informal polite East Java Malay is also used in informal situations, especially by people who have not had too many contacts with Indonesian. Thus, one can find a situation such as in (28) below, in which a Peranakan store-owner is speaking to one of her customers, a Javanese office-worker (thus not a lower-class Javanese), where she uses formal polite East Java Malay but immediately shifts to informal polite East Java Malay:

- (28) *topi=ña mintaq satu lagi.*  
*/hat=determiner ask-for one again/*  
*So you'd like another hat.*  
*séq, klér=é kunéng mau?*  
*/still, colour=determiner yellow want/*  
*Wait, would you like one in yellow?*

Note the use of */-ña/* 'determiner' in the first sentence, which makes it formal polite East Java Malay, but also note how in the second sentence the use of */séq/* *still* and */-é/* 'determiner' make it informal. This is consistent with the argument presented earlier that to remind the hearer that the situation is informal, the speaker may switch to the Javanese forms signifying informality, i.e. after establishing that s/he intends to be polite.

#### 4.3.3.7 Use of formal polite East Java Malay and Indonesian in public

There are, of course, instances that call for the use of formal polite East Java Malay in its entirety. From my observation I would conclude that public occasions call for this variety. I was once present at a marriage proposal ceremony, and although the future bridegroom's party and that of the future bride's used informal polite East Java Malay initially, when the actual short proposal speech was said, it was said in formal polite East Java Malay. During the chit-chat prior to the official proposal, the conversation went on in informal polite Malay:

- (29) Bride's mother: *capéq, saya, ciq, per=jalan=an=é taḍi?*  
*/tiring, I, older-sister, nominalising-circumfix=walk=*  
*determiner just-now/*  
*The journey must have been tiring.*
- Bridegroom's mother: *saya, déq, apa=laki itu taḍi lama macet ndéq porong itu.*  
*/I, younger-sister, what=again that just-now long jam in*  
*porong that/*  
*Yes, [indeed it was]; what's more, [we were in a] traffic*  
*jam in Porong for a long time.*

Once the official proposal started, however, the future bridegroom's father spoke in formal polite Malay.

- (30) *yha, ke=dateng=an kita ke sini ini, seperti suda engkoh dan engsó kira, yha*  
*pertama=tama mau bl=ajar kenal sama keluarga sini.*  
*/yes, nominalising-circumfix=come we-exclusive to here this, like already*  
*older-brother and older-brother's-wife guess, yes first=first want stative-*  
*marker=learn know same family here/*  
*Well, [the reason] we came here, as you [might] already guess, well, is*  
*firstly to get acquainted with your family.*

ke=dua kali=ña, yha karna anaq wé sama anaq engkoh sama engsó sudah sama sukaq, wé sama mama=ña anaq=anaq pékér ada baèq=ña kita mintaq engkoh sama engsó puña pendapet.

*/ordinal-number-marker=two=time=determiner, yes because child I same child older-brother same older-brother's-wife already same like, I same mother=possessive-marker child=child think exist good=determiner we-exclusive ask-for older-brother same older-brother's-wife possessive-marker opinion/ Secondly, well since my son and your daughter love each other, my wife and I think [that] it would be best if we inquire as to your opinion [on the relationship].*

At several Peranakan weddings I attended, the speeches were always in formal polite East Java Malay or even Indonesian.

On another occasion I was observing a group of young people, mostly Totok, practising basketball. The coach used Javanese and neutral Totok East Java Malay when speaking to the individual players:

- (31) ojoq ngónó nèq m=bawaq bal.  
*/don't like-that if active-marker=carry ball/*  
*Don't take the ball that way.*  
 gini, lhó, lhaa.  
*/like-this, you-know, you-see/*  
*Do it this way, you know, see?*

But as soon as he gave a pep talk for everybody, he used formal polite East Java Malay or Indonesian:

- (32) lati=an kita ber=ikót=ña minggu mukaq hari rebó jam seperti biasa.  
*/practice=nominalising-suffix we-inclusive stative-marker=follow=determiner week front day wednesday hour like usual/*  
*Our next practice will be next week on Wednesday at the usual hour.*  
 kita betól=betól mesti siap meng=hadap=i per=tanding=an dengan regu dari mbangél.  
*/we-inclusive real=real must ready active-marker=face=locative-marker with team from mbangél/*  
*We really must [get ourselves] ready for the match with the team from Mbangél.*

As a matter of fact, most Chinese attempt to use standard Indonesian when speaking in public. In my corpus is a recording of a Pentecostal church service, where one of the speakers is a Peranakan woman in her 20s whose schooling until she finished high school had entirely been in Indonesian. She leads the congregation in singing hymns, and the whole of the time that she speaks she uses what can be called East Java Indonesian. In terms of the morphology and lexicon of her variety of Indonesian, one cannot find any trace of Javanisms. These are only found in the phonology (i.e. the phonetic quality of the phonemes used) and very rarely in the syntax. As regards her pronunciation of Indonesian, she follows standard Indonesian pronunciation (cf. the second row on Table 4.2). At the same service a middle-aged Peranakan woman said a prayer. Her entire elementary and secondary education was in Dutch, but through frequent public speaking in Indonesian she has acquired a fluency in formal Indonesian. Her speech shows traces of formal East Java Malay (such as the suffix /-ken/ 'transitive marker, etc.', and the phonological features described in the first row on Table 4.2), but at the same time it contains instances of spelling pronunciation (q.v. above, Section 4.3.2.6).



In the speech of these two women, then, we can see the development of Malay into Indonesian, at least in terms of the pronunciation of certain forms. Since public occasions are often non-ethnic occasions it is only natural that a variety of Malay/Indonesian as close as possible to the standard is used. Nowadays with the pervasive use of standard Indonesian, it is to be expected that even in speaking Javanese, people use what might be called Indonesianisms, i.e. forms that were not used in pre-Indonesian Malay or were pronounced differently then. This phenomenon is discussed in Section 4.3.4.2.

#### 4.3.3.8 Indonesian as medium of instruction and the question of assimilation

Standard Indonesian, informal and formal, is of course used in education. Unlike state schools, where the first three years of elementary school are conducted in Javanese, the private schools that Chinese children go to use Indonesian as the only medium of instruction. As such, even when the teacher and the students are ethnic Chinese, they all use formal Indonesian in class, and outside of class usually use informal East Java Indonesian. Later on when we discuss the use of Indonesianisms in speaking various varieties of East Java Malay and Javanese, we shall see how gradually more and more people, especially those whose entire education has been in Indonesian, tend to use Indonesian words even when speaking neutrally or informally.

Part of the movement to induce Chinese to assimilate into Indonesian society is the push for Chinese to use "good Indonesian" (*bahasa éngónésya yang baéq/*). Presumably what the campaigners for assimilation have in mind as "bad Indonesian" must be *inter alia* the different varieties of East Java Malay, where one finds an admixture of Javanese forms. The irony of this push to use Indonesian lies in the fact that should it succeed, we will see an "alien minority" speaking the national language among themselves, perhaps even in the most intimate situations, while the "indigenous majority" will mostly be speaking a regional language.

A very few of my more perceptive informants, both Chinese and non-Chinese, did point out that if the speaking of Indonesian is used as a criterion, then the Chinese are more nationalistic than the non-Chinese. This is interestingly reflected in Weldon 1973, where he finds that Chinese speak better Indonesian than non-Chinese in places like Surabaya (p.23). When asked their opinion, some schoolteachers tended to agree with that finding. One of them even pointed out that perhaps a Peranakan Chinese would speak better Indonesian in a public speech, for example, than a Javanese official who uses Javanese at home and most likely grew up using Javanese. While this needs to be proved by actual comparison, numerous observations lead one to agree with the suggestion.

Finally, it is interesting to note the findings of a survey on the use of Indonesian in the Malang area by Rafferty (1983), which points out that for many ethnic Javanese, especially in rural areas and small towns, Indonesian is not their daily language, but also that many Javanese think that one of the situations in which Indonesian is important is in speaking to Chinese (pp.136-137).

In actuality, many educated Peranakan families now make it a point to use as much Indonesian as possible at home, although again in practice most of these people also use East Java Malay. It is curious to see that usually Indonesian is used when members of the family are speaking about intellectual subjects, news events, and when older people admonish younger ones in a detached, unemotional way (as opposed to the use of Javanese or neutral East Java Malay when very

emotional, hysterical anger is involved. [See below regarding shifts to Javanese to signify anger and so forth, Section 4.4.1.].

Indonesian is of course used in formal situations even when two Chinese are speaking, especially when they are Indonesian-educated. This is to be expected given the fact that the Chinese are members of the supraethnic, supraregional modern Indonesian society. However, once the formality is no longer relevant or necessary, people will invariably lapse into East Java Malay. I believe it is significant that while standard Indonesian is available and mastered by the educated Chinese, they prefer (perhaps unconsciously) to use East Java Malay in informal situations. I tend to interpret this as an indication that while many educated Chinese readily assimilate into modern Indonesian society, they also maintain a subculture in much the same way as do other ethnic groups in Indonesia. East Java Malay is a symbol of solidarity for the Chinese, something which gives them a common identity.<sup>40</sup> The fact that more and more Chinese think of East Java Malay as Indonesian, the national language, makes the situation even more interesting. On the one hand, the non-Chinese object to the use of "bad Indonesian" by Chinese, but on the other hand the Chinese themselves feel they already are using Indonesian, the national language, whereas it is the "indigenous" majority that maintain the use of regional languages. What is interesting here is of course the question of linguistic self-identity for the Chinese. Time and again, when informants stated they used Indonesian in the home, what they had in mind probably also included East Java Malay. The non-Chinese who have a stereotype that Chinese speak "bad Indonesian" seem to have only noticed the use of East Java Malay, but not that of informal East Java or even standard Indonesian. But these latter varieties of Indonesian are almost never used in anybody's home in East Java, at any rate.

It is situations like this, namely the fact that the Chinese have developed their own subculture, that prompted some Chinese leaders in the 1960s to argue for the adoption of the notion of the Chinese as an Indonesian ethnic group (*suku*) called *suku kebudayaan Tionghoa*, literally meaning 'Chinese culture ethnic group'. Although this notion went underground with the banning of the Baperki (q.v. Section 2.2.2.2), many leaders of the Chinese community interviewed during the course of this research tended to think that it is more feasible for the Chinese to assimilate into modern Indonesian society. They even agreed that a separate Chinese identity should be abolished, so that in future people that are now labelled Chinese will just identify themselves as Indonesian. Although this is already happening, with most Chinese claiming an Indonesian identity, there is the question of the other ethnic groups. The Javanese, for example, are also Indonesian, but they retain a great deal of Javanese-ness in their non-national, non-public lives. Some Chinese leaders suggested assimilation into local cultures, which for the Chinese of Pasuruan would mean assimilation into Javanese culture. Others were doubtful that this would be feasible, since nobody ever asked the Javanese if they would be willing to share their culture with the Chinese. If anything, many Javanese think that Chinese will be Chinese (cf. the earlier discussion on ethnic relations in Chapter 2). The very few Chinese who have succeeded in Javanising themselves, at least in public, always cause Javanese to make remarks such as "different from other Chinese" (/laén dari cina-cina laénna/) or "unlike Chinese" (/ndaq seperti cina/). These Javanese are saying, "Yes, these Chinese are different, which is nice and fine, but they are Chinese all the same".

In connection with the attitude that Indonesian is a passport to being assimilated into the greater Indonesian society, it should be mentioned here that a very few Chinese try to use informal Indonesian all the time and abandon completely the use of any variety of East Java Malay. One of my informants is

a lower-class Peranakan in his 20s whose negative attitudes about being Chinese have made him capable of renouncing the use of East Java Malay completely. Upon closer observation, though, I found that at home with his family he does not speak informal Indonesian, but Javanese. Thus, his constant assertion that he must speak "good Indonesian" turned out to be for a public image that he was trying to cultivate, that of the "good Indonesian citizen" (/warga negara éngónésya yang baéq/). Incidentally, he also ignores Hokkien forms (except for kinship terms) completely. He pretends he cannot differentiate one Hokkien form from another, even numerals, which almost all Chinese (again except for people like this young man) at least know, even if they do not use them.

#### 4.3.3.9 Use of East Java Malay peculiar to Chinese

So far I have not discussed how the different varieties of East Java Malay used by the Chinese set them apart from the non-Chinese of the area. Although, as mentioned earlier (Section 4.3.2.2), a few educated Javanese families do use similar varieties of East Java Malay, and uneducated Javanese attempting to speak Indonesian also do so for a different reason, the varieties of East Java Malay used by the Chinese are different in the use of certain lexical items which are not found in the varieties used by non-Chinese (unless they have frequent contacts with Chinese), mentioned in Section 3.3.5.1.

But perhaps what becomes more of an identity marker for the Chinese is the way they use Malay/Indonesian in situations where ethnic Javanese, for example, would use the Javanese language, such as in the family, between friends and in public speaking (except in situations such as celebrations of national holidays, where it is in Indonesian). In other words, whereas Indonesian is a national language for the Javanese, for the Chinese, Malay/Indonesian in its different varieties is a mother tongue. The Chinese believe Malay/Indonesian is their language. Although the Chinese mix in Javanese forms, they still feel they are speaking Malay/Indonesian. Whereas in the Javanese community eloquence in *Kromo* Javanese is prized, in the Chinese community it is eloquence in formal East Java Malay which is appreciated. As we saw earlier, Javanese is often looked down upon, especially by the upper-class Peranakan. The Javanese polite language levels are never considered important by the Chinese, perhaps because to them they are the varieties that lower-class Javanese use to speak to them. In return, they usually speak *Ngókó* Javanese or Malay/Indonesian to the lower-class Javanese. With regard to upper-class Javanese, the non-use of the Javanese polite language levels in a way means that the Chinese refuse to be part of the Javanese class hierarchy. The mutual use of Malay/Indonesian places the Chinese on an equal footing with the upper-class Javanese. This becomes even clearer when one considers that should a Chinese use the polite language levels, and the upper-class Javanese answers in *Ngókó*, it would be an unacceptable put-down for the Chinese. On the other hand, upper-class Javanese often refuse to use the polite language levels to Chinese because they are afraid that if the Chinese reply in *Ngókó*, then they would put themselves in a subordinate position vis-à-vis the Chinese (cf. Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo 1982:66).

#### 4.3.3.10 Attitudes of non-Chinese towards East Java Malay

When we turn to the attitude of non-Chinese towards the informal and neutral varieties of East Java Malay, it is evident that the non-Chinese, especially the educated, have a very low opinion of these varieties. They see the admixture of

Javanese forms as indicative of lack of education or "culture", since to them there is no rhyme nor reason as to how the different forms from the different languages are mixed together. What is objectionable to the non-Chinese is not the use of Javanese forms itself, since the Javanese, at least, do use a lot of Javanisms, but rather the use of the "wrong" Javanese forms in the "wrong" places. This may have a lot to do with Javanese attitude towards the Chinese as a group of people in general (q.v. Section 2.2.5.6), in the sense that the Javanese see them as being different. Thus, perhaps it is the fact that the Chinese are a different group of people that causes the Javanese to see their language as different, when in fact objectively speaking there are probably more similarities than differences between the language used by the Chinese and that used by the Javanese. But then, people do not look at language use objectively, but rather in view of their ethnic stereotypes, and it is in this way that the Javanese look at the language use of the Chinese.

The development of the term "Chinese Malay" (/melayu tyongwha/ was mentioned earlier (Section 4.3.1.4). This seemed to go hand in hand with the rise of Indonesian (i.e. as opposed to the Malay used in the Chinese press and literature) after the 1920s. It is not so easy to recognise ethnic Chinese writers nowadays, mostly because their names are not Chinese-sounding any longer, but also because the contents of their works tend to avoid things Chinese (i.e. an attempt to be more Indonesian in outlook and orientation), nevertheless there are still quite a few ethnic Chinese writers in the country. It is interesting to note a case in which a Javanese literary critic made a remark on the language used in two novels written by a Chinese author. Let me quote the critic's words:

In terms of the Indonesian [used], I say here frankly that both the novel "Bunga nawar kuning tercinta" and "Nyonya Sita" use rather good Indonesian. In other words, the author does not deviate from the rules of Indonesian usage.<sup>41</sup>

By voicing his judgment on the language used in writing the novel, it seems that the critic is trying to overcome readers' prejudice concerning the language used in works by Chinese authors in general, especially in view of the persistence of the use of pre-Indonesian Malay by Chinese authors well into the 1960s, when non-Chinese authors had mostly standardised their language. At any rate, the fact that a piece of criticism should include judgment on the language used is somewhat remarkable in itself, since in most cases the variety of Indonesian used by non-Chinese authors itself is not the main concern of literary critics.

It is thus quite remarkable that the language use of an economically powerful minority (at least in the view of most non-Chinese Indonesians if not in reality) is stigmatised. This seems to be indicative of the mixture of condescension and admiration with which non-Chinese Indonesians view the Chinese. Although the Chinese may be economically powerful, culturally they are seen as deprived and kasar *crass*. On the other hand, as we saw earlier (cf. Section 2.2.5.3), the Chinese have nothing to admire in the non-Chinese. In fact, many Chinese still think of themselves as a superior race, which of course only reflects the traditional Chinese view of outsiders as all barbarians. This traditional Chinese view was reinforced by the higher position of the Chinese vis-à-vis indigenous people in Dutch colonial society.

#### 4.3.3.11 Written Malay/Indonesian

It is now time for us to shift our attention to the use of Malay/Indonesian as a written language. To begin with, even the most intimate correspondence is carried on in formal Malay/Indonesian (i.e. if the correspondents do not master Mandarin or Dutch, which in any case fewer and fewer people master nowadays). Formal written communication is of course conveyed in formal Malay/Indonesian. This includes wedding invitations (except that for the Totok they are also in Mandarin - see the following chapter), death notices (again the Totok use Mandarin here), inscriptions on gravestones (some Totok still use Chinese characters here), and so on. Also in formal Malay/Indonesian are business communications, documents and accounts (except again some Totok prefer to keep their accounts in Mandarin).

In Section 4.3.1.3 is mentioned the use of Malay in literature and the press. One still finds that many authors and journalists are Chinese, although the fact that their names are now no longer Chinese-sounding makes it more difficult to recognise them as Chinese. Literacy in Indonesian is very common, except for the very old first-generation immigrants who are usually either illiterate, or only literate in Chinese. Even the very old Peranakan who never had any formal schooling usually learned from siblings and friends how to read and write, and most of these people have a habit of reading newspapers, magazines, and even books. After all Malay had been the language of literacy even before Indonesian was adopted as the language of nationalism.

On the tradition of literacy in Malay among the Chinese, the nationalist writer R.M. Tirto Adhissoerjo (1875-1917) wrote in 1909 that

the Chinese appreciate newspapers very much. Those who are only semi-literate, even those who are illiterate, subscribe to a newspaper and ask others to read it to them and pay a lot of attention to the contents of the newspaper.<sup>42</sup>

Even 30 years previous to that, Chinese already used Malay in Roman script for their correspondence (Albrecht 1881:15, cited in Salmon 1981:18).

In view of the better mastery of Indonesian by the Chinese, it is also this literacy in Malay/Indonesian that gives them an advantage over the non-Chinese in education, besides the fact that spoken Malay/Indonesian is the native language of many Chinese, in the sense that although some Chinese speak Javanese at home, they also learn Malay/Indonesian early for use in polite situations. Thus, while the Javanese child, for example, is learning to signify politeness through the different levels of Javanese, the Chinese child learns politeness by the use of Malay/Indonesian, so that once s/he is at school, s/he already has a head start compared to the Javanese child, who must, as it were, learn another language. This situation may be changing with the pervasiveness of television, which is in Indonesian, but this is a subject for future research.

#### 4.3.3.12 Chinese attitude towards Jakarta Indonesian

Finally, I should briefly mention here the attitude that most Chinese in Pasuruan have towards the Jakarta dialect of Indonesian. People come into contact with this dialect through films and television, and perhaps more immediately through contact with professionals who speak this dialect since they are originally from Jakarta and have only recently moved to Pasuruan. A very small number of (especially young) people attempt to imitate at least the phonology of this dialect. When asked the reason why they do so, invariably the reply was

that they like the way the dialect is used by film actors and television artists. It could also be the fact that the professionals who use the Jakarta dialect live in the more elite part of town that helps to make this variety of Indonesian so prestigious to those people that want to imitate it. On the other hand, other Chinese in Pasuruan consider this imitation highly affected (/dibékén-békén/) and cannot tolerate it.

#### 4.3.4 Malay/Indonesian forms as identity markers

##### 4.3.4.1 Malayisms

We have discussed how Malay forms function to signify politeness and formality. At the same time, the fact that East Java Malay is the common language in the Chinese community results in the use of what I would call Malayisms, i.e. East Java Malay grammatical and lexical items that are used when a Chinese is speaking Javanese. Sometimes this is brought about by the fact that the Chinese has a somewhat limited Javanese vocabulary, but often when s/he knows the Javanese forms, s/he uses the East Java Malay form s/he is accustomed to in his/her daily life. For example, in my corpus is a conversation involving several Totok girls in a dentist's waiting room. They use Javanese all the time, but among their utterances there are sentences like (33), where an East Java Malay word appears:

- (33) tapi arèq=é ngéq suroboyo, to, séng lakiq?  
 /but child=determiner in Surabaya, isn't-it, relative-clause-marker male/  
 But the guy is in Surabaya, isn't he? [I mean] the husband?

The girls have been talking about an estranged young couple, and the speaker of (33) wants to make sure she is right about the whereabouts of the husband. Note the use of /lakiq/ *male*, which in standard Javanese is /lanang/.

Peranakan also use these Malayisms when speaking Javanese. The utterance (34) is said in the course of a conversation between two Peranakan engineering students about various subjects. The speaker has been telling his friend about changes at the construction firm at which he works part-time. At one point he says:

- (34) lha wés piro=piro ari iki, taq=cariq=i koq ndaq ada terós arèq iku.  
 /attention-getter already how-much=how-much day this, I=look-for=transitive-marker particle-of-surprise not exist continuous child that/  
 So I've been looking for that guy these past few days, but he isn't there.

The above utterance contains many Malayisms. The speaker uses East Java Malay /ari/ *day* instead of Javanese /dino/, East Java Malay /cariq/ *to look for* instead of Javanese /dolèq/, Malay /ndaq/ *not* instead of Javanese /gaq/, and Malay /ada/ *to exist* instead of Javanese /onoq/. It is Malayisms like these that set apart the use of Javanese among Chinese and that among Javanese. Malayisms used by the Chinese in speaking Javanese are thus another facet of East Java Malay as one of their identity markers. Although Javanese are also known to use forms from Malay/Indonesian, they will not use these forms in places such as those we see in (33) and (34).

#### 4.3.4.2 Indonesianisms

Whereas Malayisms come about as a result of the fact that East Java Malay is the common language in the Chinese community, what are here called Indonesianisms are brought about by various factors having to do with modern Indonesian society. Education in Indonesian (even the now-banned Chinese-medium schools used to teach Indonesian, especially after independence), the non-existence of certain scientific and conceptual terms in pre-Indonesian Malay, and the all-pervasive Indonesian mass media (especially television and popular magazines) result in the use of forms from post-independence Indonesian, these so-called Indonesianisms, since they are used in Javanese or East Java Malay. The Javanese also use many of these Indonesianisms, although from my observation I am inclined to think that the Chinese are more ready to use these forms than the Javanese since the Javanese usually have a larger vocabulary in Javanese. In my corpus, for example, is (35), said by the Totok hairdresser met above (example (23)):

- (35) soqal=é kabèh dué keq=ingin=an m=bolos kabèh.  
 /problem=determiner *all* have nominalising-circumfix=*want* active-marker=  
*play-truant all*/  
*Because everybody wants to take a few days off, all of them.*

The hairdresser and the Peranakan client have been talking about the coming Christmas holidays. It so happens that the day after Christmas is a Sunday, and on Tuesday there is a Muslim holiday, so that many people would just not come to work on the Monday if they could, so taking a long vacation. The Indonesianism in (35) is the use of /keqingan/, the noun formed from /ingin/ *to want*. This is a form used in written language a lot, and it seems that it has crept into the language use of the hairdresser. Ordinarily people would say /kepingin/, which is a neutral Javanese form also used in East Java Malay, rather than /dué keqingan/, which sounds stilted.

Scientific terms and Indonesian forms that are acquired through Indonesian-medium education are generally used by all Indonesians while speaking their regional languages. The use of such Indonesianisms in East Javanese is extensively discussed in Kartomihardjo 1982. For our purposes here, it is enough to be aware of the implications of the fact that the Chinese, just like everybody else who has contact with modern Indonesian life in East Java, use Indonesianisms.

Although the Chinese form a separate subculture, many Chinese, especially the younger, Indonesian-educated people, are as involved as other groups in modern Indonesian culture. This question of participation in modern Indonesian life is interesting in and of itself, since many times the Chinese have been accused of exclusivism and refusing to be active in, say, national celebrations and the like. What these accusers forget is the dimension of class. Chinese who live off the main streets of course participate in the activities of their Javanese neighbours in Pasuruan. The upper-class Chinese, however, who live on the main thoroughfares, keep their distance from anyone but their relatives and close friends (not necessarily Chinese friends, incidentally), just as upper-class ethnic Javanese tend to. They often fail to appear at community functions by reason of class attitudes. One of my informants, perhaps correctly, pointed out that when it comes to doing community work, the upper-class Javanese are never admonished for not participating, which he thought unfair.



#### 4.3.4.3 Pronouns, pronominals and terms of address

Pre-Indonesian Malay and Indonesian share such pronouns as /saya/ *I*, /kamu/ *you* (singular informal), /dia/ *s/he*, /kita/ *we*, and /mereka/ (or pre-Indonesian Malay /marika/) *they*. On the other hand East Java Malay has specific pronouns such as /kita-orang/ *we* (inclusive) and /dia-orang/ *they*. In Javanese-speaking Java the use of these specifically Malay pronouns is only common among Chinese and people from the Eastern Islands who immigrated to Java, but not in standard Indonesian. As such, the use of these pronouns is often considered peculiar, and sometimes is made fun of, since the pronouns sound somewhat archaic to those who do not use them.

The modern Indonesian pronoun /anda/ *you* (singular polite) is very rarely used in the Chinese community. The only exception is perhaps a situation where both the speaker and the hearer are Chinese but are speaking in their capacity as members of a modern Indonesian institution. Thus I observed the use of this pronoun when I interviewed one of the local Christian preachers, who is a university-educated Chinese. He used the pronoun /anda/ consistently to me, most probably because of my status as an academic. When I interviewed other Chinese who used polite Malay or Indonesian to me, they usually avoided using the second-person pronoun completely. Otherwise those who are Totok used the Mandarin pronoun /nǐ/ (nǐ 你) *you* (singular). (The use of Chinese pronouns is to be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.)

Both in Javanese and Malay/Indonesian it is common to avoid using the second-person pronoun when speaking politely. When people do need to use something in lieu of the pronoun, they use terms of address (including kinship terms and titles). These forms that function as pronouns are usually called pronominals. In the Chinese community the Indonesian terms of address and pronominals /bapaq/ (lit. *father* and usually shortened into /paq/ as a title or appellation), /ibu/ (lit. *mother* and usually shortened into /bu/ as a title or appellation), /sowdara/ *brother, sister* and (less commonly) /sowdari/ *sister* are used on public occasions such as wedding and funeral speeches, church sermons and the like, where the utterances are not addressed to anyone in particular but to the whole audience. Addresses on envelopes and on wedding invitations usually use the titles, terms of address and pronominals /tuan/ *Mr*, /ñoña/ *Mrs* and /nona/ *Miss*. Nowadays with the gradual assimilation into modern Indonesian life, the use of /bapaq/, /ibu/, /sowdara/ and /sowdari/ has become more common.

These words are also used when the relationship between two Chinese are in the context of an Indonesian institution, such as in schools, offices (except when the establishment is Chinese-owned), public meetings and so forth. Thus, Chinese schoolchildren call their teachers /paq/ or /bu/, and Chinese university professors call their students by using /sowdara/ or (again less commonly) /sowdari/. This naturally brings about situations such as the one in which a Chinese calls his/her teacher, who happens to be a relative, for example, /ciq/ *older sister* or /ko/ *older brother* at home and in the family, but calls her or him /bu/ or /paq/ in public.

Generally speaking, then, Indonesian pronominals and terms of address are used in non-ethnic, public situations. As such, the Chinese are not different from other ethnic groups in Indonesia, using different pronominals and terms of address in the ethnic, private domain from those in the non-ethnic, public domain.



#### 4.3.4.4 Kinship terms

Earlier on was mentioned the term /*waq*/ *parent's older sister*, which might be of Malay provenience. Except for this possibly Malay term, the term for *parent-in-law* (/mertua/), and the terms for *husband* (/suami/ or /lakiq/) and *wife* (/istri/ or /biniq/), the other terms are for the descending generation. Some of these terms are shared with Javanese, such as /*anaq*/ *child* and /*adéq*/ *younger sibling*. The Chinese also use the terms /*keponaqan*/ *nephew, niece*, /*ipar*/ *sibling-in-law*, and /*cucuq*/ *grandchild*. When both the Javanese and the (East Java) Malay terms are used, the use of the latter signifies politeness.

It is important to mention here that /*cucuq*/ (shortened into /*cuq*/ as an appellative) is used, at least by older people, to refer to those one generation down. Women also use the term /*adéq*/ (shortened to /*déq*/ as an appellative) to refer to women who are younger than themselves. Two affectionate terms are used for children and young people by parents, relatives and servants, namely /*siñó*/ (shortened into /*ñó*/ as an appellative) for boys and /*noniq*/ (shortened into /*niq*/ as an appellative) for girls.

### 4.4 SHIFTS BETWEEN THE CODES

From just a brief observation it is evident that the Chinese, just like any other multilingual people, tend to shift from one code to another when using their linguistic repertoire. Having discussed the function of Javanese and that of Malay/Indonesian, we are now ready to look at the function of shifts from Javanese into Malay/Indonesian and the other way around. These shifts are of course not peculiarly Chinese; other people in the area also make the shifts, although as we shall see later there are differences between the function of these shifts in the Chinese community and in the Javanese community.

#### 4.4.1 Shifts to Javanese

The shifts from Malay/Indonesian to Javanese are of course unavailable to those people who speak Javanese among intimates, since it is only when people use Malay/Indonesian (the neutral and polite code) that the shift to Javanese (the impolite code) becomes significant. In the context of being neutral or polite, suddenly a different dimension is introduced.

##### 4.4.1.1 Shifts to Javanese in quoting

When people are speaking Malay/Indonesian, and in the middle of it need to quote utterances that were said in Javanese, invariably they will quote those utterances in the original Javanese. This shift has no other significance than to indicate that the utterance is a quotation. For example, (36) below is taken from a conversation about an *arisan* whose coordinator has embezzled some of the money and gone into hiding. A Totok woman is relating the whole thing in neutral East Java Malay to an attentive Peranakan audience, and she is quoting herself speaking to the coordinator's wife, who is also Totok and seems to be on intimate terms with her.

- (36) umpama koen saqiki wés m=bayar aku, trós crito=né arisan se=lanjót=é iki  
 yoqopo iki, séng kurang papat iki, wong=wong iki?  
*/let's-say you now already active-marker=pay I, then story=determiner  
 rotating-credit-union one=continue=determiner this how this, relative-  
 clause-marker lack four this, people=people this/  
 Let's say you paid me, then what about the continuity of the arisan, the  
 four people who haven't been paid?*

We should keep it in mind that the conversation has been in East Java Malay up to the point at which the speaker starts quoting herself speaking to the other woman. Except for quoting, it would be very impolite for her to use Javanese in speaking to the people she is with, but when quoting she is allowed to do so.

#### 4.4.1.2 Shifts to Javanese in joking

Shifts to Javanese are also allowed when the speaker is trying to be humorous. In this case the shifts become significant, since they function to indicate that the speaker is being humorous. The following part of a conversation was recorded when a few Peranakan and Totok men were gathered together at a wake for a Peranakan woman who died a few days before. They were talking about different subjects, and at some point they began talking about life in western industrial countries. Trying to be funny, one of the Totok man said:

- (37) ng=anggór ñang kónó.  
*/active-marker=do-nothing go there/  
 [Sure], I'll go there if [I] have no job.*

The rest of the men thought it was funny, since the speaker of course had no real intention of going overseas, and perhaps had no ability to do so, either.

#### 4.4.1.3 Shifts to Javanese in being cynical

Javanese is used in the midst of Malay/Indonesian utterances to indicate that the speaker is being cynical about what is being talked about. In the following example, the speaker, a Peranakan man in his 40s, has just been fired from a well-paid job, which he had obtained through the good connections that his brother-in-law had with the latter's financier. But this financier finally thinks the speaker is dispensable as well as costing the company too much. Here he is speaking with his sister and mother, who keep telling him that in the big cities one could find a well-paid job easily. He retorted by saying:

- (38) nèq aga séng mau m=bayar s=ratós lima pulu ribu, yho ñ=sambót gawé, ma.  
*/if exist relative-clause-marker want active-marker=pay one=hundred five  
 ten thousand, well active-marker=work job, mother/  
 Well, if [I could find someone] who would pay a hundred and fifty thousand  
 [rupiahs], I'd sure take the job, Mum.*

Note that he switches from neutral East Java Malay to Javanese after the first comma. If it were not for being cynical (the speaker doubts if anyone would pay him that much), this use of Javanese would be considered impolite.

#### 4.4.1.4 Shifts to Javanese to show anger

Javanese is often used by people who normally use East Java Malay in the family, to show that they are angry with the hearer. It is interesting how in addition to the actual forms used, which semantically express anger already, the switch to the impolite code intensifies the anger. The switch is also made when the speaker is infuriated not by the hearer but by someone else or a certain situation. In the following example, the speaker, a Peranakan woman in her late 40s, is very annoyed at her servant, who uses too much soy sauce when she cooks. The speaker relates the situation in Javanese:

- (39) *ngaq ng=rèken, kècap=é telóng ndino petang ndino saq=botol ....*  
*/not active-marker=calculate, soy-sauce=determiner three day four day one=*  
*bottle ..../*  
*[She] doesn't think; [she uses up] a bottle of soy sauce in three or four*  
*days ....*

The entire sentence is in Javanese, and the fact that it is said in the midst of a conversation in neutral East Java Malay points up the speaker's irritation.

#### 4.4.1.5 Shifts to Javanese in speaking with oneself

Sometimes in the middle of a conversation or a sentence in Malay/Indonesian, the speaker would insert a short phrase in Javanese. This usually occurs when the speaker is not sure of what s/he is saying, and in that way the inserted phrase functions as a question to oneself. For example, the speaker in (40) below, a Peranakan woman in her early 70s, is speaking with her daughter in neutral East Java Malay. But time and again, she inserts Javanese question words when she is unsure about the continuation of her sentence. Here she has been talking about her daughter's wedding, how she hired all the cooks in town, and so forth. She suddenly realises that a lot of these cooks have died:

- (40) *ng, sopo, nama=né anu, mboq món itu mati ....*  
*/err, who, name=possessive-marker whatchamacallit, mother món that dead ..../*  
*Err, what's her name, Mrs Món died ....*

The Javanese question word is /sopo/ *who*, and it is all right for the speaker to use Javanese since it is not directed at anybody but herself.

Sometimes people speak to themselves to reflect upon whatever is being talked about in a conversation they are participating in. It is common in such a situation for them to say a Javanese sentence in the middle of a conversation in Malay/Indonesian. The following example is part of a conversation between two Peranakan women (both are in their 70s) about the death of some of their acquaintances in an automobile accident. The conversation has been in polite East Java Malay, and in fact the two women have been very formal to each other. One of the women is trying to reflect on how if the acquaintances had not gone on the trip they were taking, they would not be dead now. Apparently they had decided to go on the spur of the moment. This is how she reflects on the irony of the whole thing:

- (41) *lha itu, wong gaq ono gawé=né, cumaq angen-angen ....*  
*/attention-getter that, whereas not exist job=determiner, only fancy=fancy*  
*..../*  
*There it is [just because they] had nothing to do, they thought [they might*  
*as well go] ....*

The entire sentence, except for the word /itu/, which is Malay/Indonesian, is in Javanese. It is important to note that the speaker uttered the sentence very softly, and in sadness.

#### 4.4.2 Shifts to and within East Java Malay

Besides the use of Malayisms interspersed in otherwise Javanese utterances, one does come across instances in which a speaker shifts to neutral East Java Malay. The reason for these continual shifts when speaking Javanese seems to be the fact that East Java Malay is used quite extensively in the community. In that sense, we can regard the shifts as instances of East Java Malay interference on a higher level than merely the use of Malayisms. Another way of looking at them is by treating them as Malayisms involving whole utterances. I am inclined to think that this shift should be treated as the latter, since from my observation of informants' reaction, I tend to conclude that the mere use of Malayisms in Javanese is an unmarked phenomenon, which does not carry any particularly significant function. In other words, despite the frequent shifts to East Java Malay, when my informants thought they were speaking Javanese, they would consider their utterances Javanese.

In my corpus of people speaking Javanese with one another, there are frequent instances of the use of East Java Malay such as in (37):

- (42) soqal=é aku pas januari pertama masóq, dèqé koq ndéq situ terós.  
 /problem=determiner I just January first enter, he particle-of-surprise in there continuous/  
*The thing is, [when] I started working in January, he was oddly enough there all the time.*

The first word that indicates that the sentence is East Java Malay and not Javanese is /masóq/ *to enter*. It seems that the use of this Malayism influences the rest of the sentence, so that /situ/ *there*, a Malay/Indonesian word, is also used. Looking into other instances of such shifts, it becomes apparent to me that once a sentence starts in East Java Malay, it is usually finished in the same code. The following sentences are often in East Java Malay, too, although the shift rarely exceeds three or four consecutive sentences. But in any length of conversation this continual shift to East Java Malay occurs.

I have another example of a brief shift to East Java Malay which I think is very significant. I mentioned earlier (Section 4.2.2.4) the Peranakan man teaching little Totok girls a rhyme in Javanese. Very young as they are (the oldest is seven years old and the youngest is five years old), they already have a sense of propriety in speaking politely and use East Java Malay, although among themselves, being Totok, they use Javanese. It is interesting to observe that while one of the girls is being taught the rhyme, and repeating after the Peranakan man line by line, at one time she shifts briefly into East Java Malay and corrects herself immediately. This is what she says (the complete rhyme is used as example (8)):

- (43) mami ña-, n=dolèq=i.

The unfinished form /ña-/ is of course the beginning of the East Java Malay form /ñariqi/, which is the equivalent of the Javanese /ndolèqi/ *to look for*. This brief shift may indicate that all the time the little girl is repeating in

Javanese, she is probably feeling uncomfortable about using Javanese, the impolite code, in a neutral situation.

It seems that people are more able to control the use of East Java Malay without shifting to what is considered impolite in the community, i.e. the use of impolite Javanese words or the use of Javanese when East Java Malay is called for. The other way around, however, shifts to Malay occur mostly for no reason at all, so that we should interpret the continual occurrence of the shifts as a reflection of the fact that the common code for the Chinese of Pasuruan and the surrounding area is Malay. This confirms the conclusion by Wolff (1982) that linguistically speaking, the language of the Chinese of East Java is Malay/Indonesian, and not Javanese, despite the high degree of influence of Javanese.

#### 4.4.2.1 Shifts to East Java Malay in quoting

As one might expect, when someone is speaking Javanese and s/he needs to quote utterances spoken in East Java Malay, the quotation will be in East Java Malay. The speaker of (44) below is speaking about one of his office-mates, who has suddenly disappeared from the office. He is curious and asks his supervisor. This is how he relates the conversation:

- (44) trós saqiki, mólai bulan ini koq ndaq ada terós, aku takoq.  
*/continuous now, begin month this particle-of-surprise not exist continuous, I ask/*  
*And now, so I asked [my supervisor] why [the guy] hadn't been coming to work starting this month.*

The speaker starts in Javanese, but does not continue his sentence; instead, he relates the conversation he had with his supervisor. Note that after the East Java Malay utterance (the stretch between the commas), he shifts back to Javanese, indicated by the word /takoq/ *to ask* (East Java Malay /tañaq/).

It is interesting to note that these shifts to East Java Malay in quoting never occur when people are speaking formal Indonesian. The quotation is then translated, as it were, to colloquial East Java Indonesian. This seems to confirm the earlier observation (Section 4.3.3.7) that East Java Malay as used by the Chinese is a stigmatised code, and that it is very rarely used in public situations. This also seems to indicate the pressure on the Chinese to assimilate into Indonesian society. It is especially significant in the light of the fact that the use of Javanese in quoting while speaking Indonesian is allowed.

#### 4.4.3 Shifts to Indonesian

People shift to the use of Indonesian when speaking about regulations, contracts and other official institutions which are usually communicated in formal Indonesian. As such, the shifts are similar in function to those to Javanese and to Malay used in quoting. Thus, when people shift to Indonesian, they are quoting verbatim, as it were, whatever a regulation and so on may sound like. Indeed Indonesian can be categorised as "officialese" in the community. Incidentally, these shifts are also made by ethnic Javanese.

An example of these shifts to Indonesian is (45) below. Two Peranakan women, a daughter in her 40s and her mother, have been talking about miscellaneous

subjects in neutral East Java Malay. They then get to talking about different deals in buying propane-gas stoves. The daughter then mentions that one sometimes gets the gas container as a bonus when buying a stove:

- (45) *itu dua tabóng dengan yang baru cumaq nem pulu lima.*  
*/that two tube with relative-clause-marker new only six ten five/*  
*[If you buy] a [brand] new [stove], [you get] two containers as well, [all]*  
*for only sixty-five [thousand rupiah].*

Although the above example is pronounced with an East Java pronunciation, it is an attempt at using very formal Indonesian, and is reminiscent of the style of language of advertisements.

#### 4.5 PHONOLOGICAL, MORPHOLOGICAL AND MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL VARIATIONS

As mentioned in the previous chapter, when discussing the phonology of the linguistic repertoire of the Chinese of Pasuruan, there came to light several phonological and morphophonological variations which could indicate someone's subethnic identity. As such, in the present discussion other variations caused by casual and careful speech will be disregarded, since they do not seem to be relevant when it comes to indicating one's subethnic identity.

##### 4.5.1 Phonological variations

The phonological variations that are related to indicating whether one is Peranakan or Totok involve the apico-dental and apico-alveolar stops and nasals. These variations occur regardless of whether one is speaking Javanese or Malay/Indonesian. Thus, they serve as additional identity markers besides the other identity markers mentioned above. Let us now look at the variations in detail.

###### 4.5.1.1 Voiceless stops

I found in my observations that Peranakan very consistently follow the phonematics of Javanese forms containing /t/ and /t̚/. The only exception, at least in the speech of a few Peranakan, is the pronunciation of the word /t̚oq/ *only*, which they tend to pronounce as /toq/. But then again this seems to be common also among a few ethnic Javanese speakers, especially when speaking Indonesian. When it comes to the Totok, however, there are various types of variations possible. I found a very few of them reversing the two phonemes, such that they pronounce a word like /putih/ *white* as /puṭih/, and a word like /pótól/ *to be broken* as /pótól/. Others tend to collapse the two phonemes into the apico-dental variety, and yet others do it the other way around, thus using the apico-alveolar variety across the board. These variations are not found in the Peranakan pronunciation.

###### 4.5.1.2 Voiced stops

The treatment of /t/ and /t̚/ noted above is paralleled in the treatment of their voiced counterparts, /d/ and /d̚/. Peranakan consistently follow Javanese

phonemetics, but Totok again have different variations in their speech. To begin with, a very few Totok again reverse the two phonemes, in such a way that they come to pronounce a word like /duduq/ *not* as /duduq/, and a word like /dódóq/ *to sit* as /dódóq/. Others tend to just use the apico-dental variety across the board. Still others use the apico-alveolar variety all the time.

What is interesting is the fact that in my recordings some of my informants are aware of the "expected" phonemes, and in fact they would correct themselves from time to time, although they did not do this consistently. Generational or age difference does not seem to play an important role in influencing people's pronunciation: there is a five-year-old girl who uses /d/ consistently; at the same time there is a second-generation middle-aged woman who uses /d/ and /d/, although she sometimes reverses them. Education in Indonesian or contact with other speakers of standard Javanese does not seem to have too much influence either. One of my informants consistently uses /d/ even in the classroom during a formal discussion.

#### 4.5.1.3 Nasals

Curiously enough, only two informants used the apico-dental /n/. One of them, a co-ed in her 20s, does not use the apico-alveolar /n/ at all, while the other one, a male shop-owner in his late 30s, varies between the apico-dental variety and the apico-alveolar variety. Both of them are second-generation Totok. I did not, incidentally, find any Peranakan using the apico-dental variety.

In general, then, we can conclude that the Totok part of the Chinese community still reflects features from the Chinese dialects spoken by their parents and grandparents when it comes to the use of the apico-dental and apico-alveolar stops and nasals.

#### 4.5.2 Morphological variations

The only instances of morphological variation that indicate a separate Chinese identity are the continual shifts between the Javanese passive marker /di-/ and the Malay/Indonesian equivalent /di-/. At first it seemed to me that perhaps the Javanese prefix is used with base forms of Javanese origin, and similarly, the Malay/Indonesian prefix is used with base forms of Malay/Indonesian origin. It turned out upon close scrutiny of all occurrences of /di-/ and /di-/ in my corpus, however, that that is by no means the case. I found /di-/ used with Malay/Indonesian base forms as often as /di-/ is used with Javanese base forms.

I constructed a second hypothesis, that perhaps when people are speaking Javanese, they would use /di-/ more often than /di-/, and when they are speaking Malay/Indonesian, the opposite would be so. However, this turned out not to be the case, either. It seems, then, that /di-/ and /di-/ will have to be treated as a variable form, the variation being basically between the apico-dental /d/ and the apico-alveolar /d/. As we saw in Section 4.5.1.2, such a variation indeed occurs in the speech of many Totok. More importantly, however, the /di- ~ di-/ variation seems to be the function of the Javanese-Malay/Indonesian bilingualism in the Chinese community. For the sake of comparison, it is curious that the preposition /di/ *in, at* is consistently pronounced with an apico-alveolar

/d/ unless the speaker consistently dentalises his/her apico-alveolar stops (q.v. Section 4.5.1.2).

As a final note, I should reiterate my previous observation (Section 3.3.3.1) that ethnic Javanese, if they fail to differentiate Javanese /d̥i-/ from Malay/Indonesian /di-/, do so consistently, unlike the Chinese.

#### 4.5.3 Morphophonological variations

In Section 3.3.3.2 were mentioned the variations between /-é/ and /-né/ 'possessive marker, nominaliser, determiner', /-en/ and /-nen/ 'imperative marker', /-i/ and /-ni/ 'locative marker', as well as those between lowering and non-lowering of the high vowels /i/ and /u/ in ultimate closed syllables in base forms suffixed with /-qno/ 'transitive, benefactive marker' and between raising and non-raising of the mid-high vowels /é/ and /ó/ in ultimate closed syllables in base forms suffixed with vowel-initial suffixes. Although as I said then, I found all Chinese using these variations in their speech, upon closer examination it turned out that the Totok again deviate from the Javanese morphophonology more often than the Peranakan do. We have then a paradox, one in which the part of the Chinese community that uses more Javanese among themselves simplify the Javanese more than the other part that uses less Javanese but follow the morphophonology more consistently.

#### 4.6 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter we have looked into the function of the two major codes in the linguistic repertoire of the Chinese community, namely Javanese and Malay/Indonesian. Even the few China-born Chinese, who among themselves speak their own regional dialects, and the highly educated people who speak Mandarin or Dutch fluently, would need to speak Javanese or Malay/Indonesian in situations where the addressee does not understand Chinese dialects or Dutch.

We have seen how historically the Chinese communities of Javanese-speaking Java, except for the upper-class Peranakan, have always used Javanese as the language of the home and of interactions with intimates. The upper-class Peranakan singled themselves out for gradually changing to the use of East Java Malay in the home and in interactions with intimates. Malay seems to have functioned as the language spoken in public interactions since at least the arrival of large numbers of Chinese immigrants after the arrival of the Dutch at the turn of the 17th century. In the second half of the 19th century, which witnessed the rise of wealth among certain Chinese families, and almost simultaneously the availability of education and literature in Malay, Malay became the language of literacy and politeness within the community itself.

We can perceive the diversity in the Chinese community from the ways in which its members use Javanese and Malay/Indonesian. Lower-class Peranakan and Totok speak Javanese in the home and among intimates in general, whereas upper-class Peranakan speak East Java Malay. However, it is East Java Malay that is usually perceived as the common language of the Chinese community. Still, the Totok community and the Peranakan community each have their own variety of informal neutral East Java Malay, although the difference can be said to be minimal. It is the polite varieties of East Java Malay (informal and formal) that both Totok and Peranakan use, although again the class-consciousness of the Peranakan community, which does not exist in the Totok community, is reflected by the more frequent use of polite East Java Malay in the Peranakan community.



Despite this diversity, however, education in Indonesian has started to show its unifying influence on younger Chinese. Many of these people, of both Peranakan and Totok backgrounds, would use Indonesian, especially on public occasions, which in many cases is not so different from the Indonesian used by other ethnic groups. Indonesian is seen as a passport to assimilation into Indonesian society, and language use seems to indicate that both the Peranakan-Totok distinction and the separateness of the Chinese community are gradually dissolving, at least linguistically and on public occasions. Indonesian is also the language of education for most Chinese nowadays, and a number of Chinese authors write in the language. This could perhaps be seen as a continuation of the earlier literary production in Malay.

In interactions with lower-class Javanese, especially those who are not well educated, the Chinese would speak *Ngókó* Javanese and receive *Madyo* Javanese in return. Those who have been Indonesian-educated would reply in Malay/Indonesian, and again more progressive Chinese would also use Malay in speaking to lower-class Javanese, receiving the same in return. In interactions with Javanese of other social classes, unless there is intimacy in the relationship, in which case *Ngókó* Javanese is used symmetrically, the Chinese would use Malay or even Indonesian if that is possible. Some Javanese in a position of authority might use Javanese, and the Chinese would reply in Malay/Indonesian.

In terms of attitudes towards the codes, Malay/Indonesian is the language most often reported as being the major code, the use of Javanese being relegated to second place, as it were. The upper-class Peranakan even consider the use of Javanese in the home to be impolite, whereas other Chinese think of it as neutral. We also saw how people shift to Javanese when they are angry or cynical, but also when they are trying to be humorous. Javanese or Javanese forms then convey emotive connotations, which Malay/Indonesian often fails to do. This seems to reinforce the theory that the community was speaking more Javanese until the shift into Malay in the second half of the 19th century. Javanese and the heavily Javanised East Java Malay (i.e. the informal neutral variety) are needed to create an air of informality, even of in-group solidarity in the case of East Java Malay.

There are several linguistic criteria that can thus be used to determine ethnic, subethnic and class identity. Firstly, the use of only *Ngókó* Javanese is different from the ethnic Javanese community, where more than just this level is used. In connection with this, the use of East Java Malay as a language of politeness sets the Chinese apart from the Javanese, who use the polite levels of Javanese. Secondly, the use of East Java Malay in the home and among intimates in the upper-class Peranakan families is also different, both from ethnic Javanese, who would use Javanese in such domains, and from the rest of the Chinese community, who would also use Javanese. Thirdly, class identity is strongly perceptible in the language use of the Peranakan community: that is the lower-class Peranakan would speak Javanese in the home and among intimates, whereas the upper class would speak East Java Malay.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. As we shall see later in the next chapter, Hokkien functions in a special manner to signify common Chinese identity, whereas Mandarin and Dutch function to signify Totok and Peranakan identities respectively.
2. While I was writing the first draft of the sections on the history of the codes in the repertoire of the Chinese, Rafferty published a similar article, a historical review of the languages of the Chinese of Java (1984). She emphasises Javanese and Malay/Indonesian, however, and only very briefly touches on the history of the use of Hokkien, Mandarin and Dutch. While the results of my research in the majority of cases agree with hers, I take issue with her analysis of the development of what she terms "Indonesianised Javanese", i.e. my "East Java Malay". (See Section 4.2.3.2.)
3. The descendants of the immigrants who arrived towards the end of the 19th century and afterwards, the Totok, also grew up speaking Javanese. They still use Javanese as their major code; I will put off the discussion on how this situation came about until after I have discussed the use of Javanese among the Peranakan in the past.
4. Pigeaud 1968, 1980.
5. This is Pigeaud and Schlegel's transliteration of the name from the original Javanese script. I suspect the name was originally pronounced /ték hok/: Javanese script does not distinguish between /o/ and /ho/.
6. cf. Brandes's discussion of this work (1902).
7. Personal communication from Claudine Salmon; cf. Nagazumi Akira, The origin and the earlier years of the Budi Utomo, 1908-1918. Ph.D. thesis, Cornell University, 1967.
8. "Pada abad jang laloe, pertama berhoehoeng dengan pergaoelan jang rapet antara kaoem kita dan pendoedoek Priboemi, dan kadoea lantaran pada masa itoe soekernja didapet roemah-roemah sekola, baik Tionghoa maepoen Melajoe, maka banjak anak-anak Tionghoa jang masoek di dalem sekola-sekola Priboemi, dimana selaennja beladjar hoeroef dan bahasa Djawa, djoega anak-anak itoe haroes pahamken kasopanan-kasopanan Djawa seperti moerid-moerid laennja." (My translation.)
9. Pigeaud (1938) deplored this shift away from Javanese civilisation, and remarked that in this way "Javanese civilisation lost a very important support and help in its rejuvenation" (... verliest de Javaanse beschaving een zeer belangrijke steun en hulp bij hare verjonging; p.114; my translation).
10. We do not know how far back the Javanese language levels go. Pigeaud speculated that they probably started at the height of the glory of the Majapahit court in the 14th century (cf. Pigeaud 1968, vol.1:14). Many of the analogical creations of the modern Kromo Javanese are attested in the text of a religious treatise discussed by Schrieke (1916) dating from the second half of the 16th century, which was supposedly written by Sunan Bonang, one of the legendary proselytisers of Islam in Java. There is also evidence in the accounts of the Portuguese apothecary and traveller Tomé Pires, written in the beginning of the 16th century, who reported that "... there are two languages, one for the nobles and the other for the people.... [T]he nobles have one name for things and the people another; this must certainly be the same for everything" (1944:199).

11. /maq ndaq seneng kalóq babu-babu ngomong mlayu. kan di lœe orang jawa. jadi yha mesti tau tata cara jawa, ngomong boso sama maq./
12. /amét-amét, jangan sampéq maq dikókó. kalóq orang-orang muda sekarang, anaq-anaqha apa, dibiarken aja dikókó. tlalu, lhól/
13. Wolff (1976) discusses the same phenomenon among the Chinese of Central Java (pp.233-234, n.7). Stevens (1973) reports that in Madura native speakers who switch into Madurese in the midst of speaking Indonesian are not aware that they are not speaking Indonesian (p.74).
14. I will discuss this in detail in the next chapter, when I look into the function of Chinese dialects.
15. In such cases the conversation is in Malay/Indonesian or sometimes Dutch. cf. Sections 4.3.3.6 and 5.3.2.1 for the use of these codes.
16. It should be kept in mind that the politeness value attached to Javanese forms varies depending on who uses them. What is impolite to the upper-class Peranakan in all situations, for example, may be neutral to the Totok. Again if we consider the lower-class Peranakan, what is considered impolite for use in the family by upper-class Peranakan may be neutral to the lower-class Peranakan.
17. It is instructive to contrast this situation with the one in Bacan in the North Moluccas, where it is precisely forms of this kind that are etymologically Malay (cf. Collins 1983b).
18. cf. note 2 to this chapter.
19. There are situations, however, when even upper-class Peranakan would use these forms. I will discuss the significance of this phenomenon when we look into the shifts between Javanese and Malay/Indonesian in Section 4.4.
20. cf. the use of Malay/Indonesian pronominals and terms of address in Section 4.3.4.
21. This phenomenon was also found to be true among Peranakan in Sundanese-speaking areas (with Sundanese terms instead of Javanese terms, of course) in the investigation by Giok-Lan Tan (1963:121). From observation I tend to conclude that in the Pasuruan population even the Totok use the Javanese kinship terms.
22. cf. the discussion on the function of Dutch forms in Section 5.3.3.
23. I am citing Hokkien forms here, but other Chinese dialects have the same phenomenon.
24. For a discussion of Hokkien kinship terms as used by Peranakan Chinese, see Section 5.1.3.2 below.
25. It is interesting that Skinner (1963) uses among his criteria for defining who is Chinese in Indonesia a person's Chinese name (p.97).
26. My translation of a Dutch translation of a passage in the *Monumenta Xaveriana*, pp.404-406, cited in Wessels 1926:18.
27. I will discuss this in greater detail when explaining the non-use of Dutch in Section 5.3.1.1.
28. "Die neu angekommenen Morgenländer verstünden kein Malaiisch, sondern nur ihre 'landtaal' (also eine der malaiischen Sprachen im weiteren Sinne); sie lernten, wenn sie unter Christen kämen, portugiesisch, wenn unter Heiden oder Muhammedaner, malaiisch" (p.5; my translation).

29. I prefer to use this term (a translation of *basa untuk bekerja*), which was first introduced by the writer Pramoedya Ananta Toer to replace the often derogatory terms applied to this particular variety of Malay (cf. Pramoedya 1963a, *passim*).
30. cf. Hoffman 1979:72, fn.41, for a list of these names.
31. "De Javaan of Soendanees vermaleischt zijne moedertaal een beetje en de Europeesche fuselier - kader inclus - gooit er nog een schepje Hollandsch boven op". (Bannink 1915:570; my translation).
32. "[basa pra-Indonesia] merupakan basa pengantar atau basa perhubungan jang dipergunakan oleh orang2 asing jang tidak terkena ketentuan2 kedaulatan feodalisme Pribumi, sehingga basa pra-Indonesia di Djawa pada tingkat perkembangannya jang paling pertama setelah datangnya bangsa2 Eropa, menjadi basa klas bordjuis dan klas dipertuan putih jang kedudukannya diatas foedal pribumi" (Pramoedya 1963a [22 September]; my translation).
33. "Europeanen van alle natiën, Aziaten van verschillende rassen, zoo als daar zijn Chinezen, Arabieren, Hindoes, Siamezen, inlanders van de meest verwijderde eilanden van den Archipel, van Java tot Nieuw-Guinea, van de Philippinen tot Timor ..." (p.148; my translation).
34. cf. Tio (1958) for a biography of Lie Kim Hok and the education in Malay and Dutch given by missionaries and retired civil servants. For the grammar itself, see Lie 1884, 1891 and Lombard 1972.
35. See Salmon 1981 for the most comprehensive description of this literature to date.
36. For a survey of the Peranakan Chinese press of Java, see Suryadinata 1971.
37. The name "Indonesia" was first proposed by an English lawyer, John R. Logan, in 1857, in connection with the description of the languages of the Indies. Thirty years after that, the German ethnologist Adolf Bastian made another proposal in connection with the ethnological description. (*Ensiklopedia Indonesia*, Bandung-The Hague: N.V. Penerbitan W. v. Boeve, n.d.:865.) The term became a natural choice for nationalists in search of a unifying name for the movement beyond regional and ethnic groupings.
38. "Sebab kebanyakan sobat2 poenja permintaan djadi pribahasa loe-goewa, saja toekar: kamoe dan kami, ini boekoe kedoewa saja moelain obah, harap sekalian sobatkoe pembatja boleh mendapet taoe adanya." (Cited in Salmon and Lombard 1974:192; my translation.)
39. Examples (18) to (21) are made-up examples based on different interpolations possible on (17). I deliberately use made-up examples to show the contrast between the different varieties along the continuum. The way the varieties are used in actual situations will be discussed in Section 4.3.3.
40. This is of course in addition to the use of Hokkien forms to signify Chinese identity, which is discussed in the next chapter.
41. "Dari segi bahasa Indonesia, terus terang kami katakan di sini bahwa baik novel 'Bunga mawar kuning tercinta' maupun 'Nyonya Sita' mengandung bahasa Indonesia yang cukup baik. Dengan lain perkataan pengarang tak banyak menyimpang dari kaidah-kaidah pemakaian bahasa Indonesia" (my translation; cited in Soejatmiko 1980:81).
42. "bangsa Tionghoa ada sanget hargaken soerat-soerat kabar, orang jang hanja tjoema bisa batja, ja sehingga jang tida bisa batja sekalipoen soeda berlangsung soerat kabar disoeroeh membatjaken dan diperhatiken betoel-betoel akan isi soerat kabar itoe." (*Medan Prijaji*, 1909:647, cited in Pramoedya 1982: 2-3 and Salmon 1981:141, n.156; my translation.)

## Chapter 5

### IDENTITY MARKERS: CHINESE DIALECTS, DUTCH AND ENGLISH

In the previous chapter we discussed how the Chinese of Pasuruan, by the different ways in which they use Javanese and Malay/Indonesian, signify their ethnic, subethnic and class identity. In addition to Javanese and Malay/Indonesian, one finds in the community the use of Chinese regional dialects, Mandarin and Dutch. This occurs when people actually speak or write in these codes, or use forms borrowed from the codes when speaking Javanese or Malay/Indonesian. Although English is used as a code as such only by a small English-educated elite in Pasuruan, its sociolinguistic position in the community is touched upon here, since, in this way, one can learn about the aspirations and orientations of the different subgroups in the Chinese community.

As in the previous chapter, the different languages or forms from the different languages are discussed one by one. This division is at best artificial since, as we shall see, people do not keep to only one language when they speak. Hokkien and forms of Hokkien provenience are discussed first because, of the non-Indonesian codes, Hokkien is the one used by all Chinese, and also because Hokkien speakers have predominated since the earliest Chinese settlements in the archipelago, and so, Hokkien has become a sort of lingua franca. In discussing the use of Hokkien by first-generation immigrants and their immediate descendants, the use of other Chinese regional dialects in the community is surveyed. A discussion of the use of Mandarin then follows, and later a discussion of Dutch. These two codes are similar because they reflect the different cultural and educational orientations of the Totok and the Peranakan. The chapter closes with a look at the position of English, especially at present. Again, as in the previous chapter, the discussion of a particular code is developed in the framework of a historical context in order to elucidate its present position.

#### 5.1 THE FUNCTION OF HOKKIEN (AND OTHER REGIONAL DIALECTS)

##### 5.1.1 A historical perspective

##### 5.1.1.1 The predominance of Hokkien-speaking immigrants

According to the earliest available evidence, for centuries Chinese who came to settle in the archipelago, especially on Java and Madura, were Hokkien speakers from South Fujian (Purcell 1965:5). There may already have been Hokkien-speaking immigrants as early as 800-900 A.D. (Lekkerkerker 1938:613). In the earliest report (1416) concerning East Javanese ports contained in the *Ying-yai shenglan* ("The overall survey of the ocean's shores"), we read about the Chinese settlers in these ports being natives of Guangzhou, Zhangzhou and Quanzhou, the last two being in Fujian province (Groeneveldt 1960:49). Indeed the ports of south-eastern China were for a long time China's only maritime outlets. Quanzhou, for example, became the largest port of China - Marco Polo even suggested it was the largest in all the world - by the middle of the Southern Song dynasty (1127-

1279) (cf. *inter alia* Clark 1982:132). Yet the people from Guangzhou were probably outnumbered by those from the other two places; in any case, Cantonese never became a major language in Java; it is now spoken by first-generation Cantonese immigrants only.

As a matter of fact, it was only much later, at the turn of the century to be exact, that immigrants from other dialect groups, such as the Hakkas, Teochius, and the people from Southern Guangdong and so forth, arrived in Java. As late as 1930, the majority of Chinese in Java and Madura were still Hokkien speakers and their descendants (Purcell 1965:387). In 1935 there were 379,611 Hokkiens out of a Chinese population of 582,431 in Java and Madura (65 percent). For East Java only, there were 106,092 Hokkiens out of a Chinese population of 158,489 (66 percent) (Pramoedya 1960, table facing p.146).

#### 5.1.1.2 Education in Hokkien

The Dutch traveller Wouter Schouten (1638-1704) remarks in his account of his travels in the Indies that:

Chinese children ..., when they became older, received a very good education. They learnt to read, to do arithmetic, and to keep books of account, using all their written characters for this purpose.<sup>1</sup>

It seems, then, that in addition to the local languages that they used, some Chinese were also literate in Chinese characters at that time. It also points out the great concern that the Chinese have always had with education, which as we have seen in the case of Malay/Indonesian, influences the sociolinguistic make-up of the community. The fact that there were tutors like Ong Tae Hae (see Sections 2.2.3.1 and 4.2.1.1) in 18th-century Java supports the argument that education in Chinese was considered very important.

This traditional education consisted mostly of memorising the Confucian classics, in the same way as was practised in China, and remained so until the beginning of this century (cf. Albrecht 1879, *passim*; Coppel 1981:181). It was carried out in Hokkien, which among other reasons explains why the Chinese names in the Malay translations of Chinese literature we discussed earlier were always given in their Hokkien pronunciation (Nio 1962:12). When a new translation into Malay of the *Daxue* 大學 was brought out in Sukabumi, West Java, in 1905, the Chinese text was given opposite the Hokkien pronunciation, using the Zhangzhou dialect (Salmon 1981:30).

It should be mentioned, however, that traditional education in Hokkien was for the most part a small, private affair, and was only affordable by the wealthy few. A school with 30 students that was established in Batavia in 1729, for example, only lasted very briefly and had to be closed due to mismanagement. It was only during the last quarter of the 19th century, as a result of the rise of wealthy families in the Chinese community, that Hokkien schools were opened in considerable numbers. In 1899 there were 217 of these schools in Java and Madura, with a total of 4,452 students (Suryadinata 1972:51). However, the combination of not so competent teachers, mostly mediocre scholars from China, emphasis on learning the Confucian classics by rote memorisation without much explanation, and the irrelevance of this traditional education to life in the Indies, rendered it increasingly useless (apparently students only knew a few Chinese characters, and could not even read or write a simple letter in Chinese) to the extent that at the beginning of this century, an educational reform was

felt to be highly necessary (Williams 1960:66, 68). We will discuss this reform in Section 5.2.1.1. It should just be mentioned by way of a preview that this factor, together with the advent of nationalism in China (where the language was Mandarin) and the arrival of new non-Hokkien-speaking immigrants, made it necessary that the reform took Mandarin as its language.

### 5.1.1.3 Hokkien in theatre in the past

Finally, a mention should be made of the use of Hokkien in theatrical performances in the past. An 18th-century German traveller, Ernst Christoph Barchewitz, who spent 11 years in Java, mentions theatrical performances in Chinese, presumably Hokkien.<sup>2</sup> They were also reported at the beginning and middle of the 19th century, such as in the *Memoir* of Major William Thorn,<sup>3</sup> and the book by A.W.P. Weitzel<sup>4</sup> (Salmon 1981:128-129, n.53). As a matter of fact, as late as in the 1960s, i.e. before the ban on the use of Chinese dialects (q.v. below, Section 5.2.1.2), one could watch Fujian hand-puppet performances (/po tè hi/ [po<sup>51</sup> te<sup>11</sup> hi<sup>11</sup>/ 布袋戏]) in many Chinese communities in Java, carried out in Hokkien.

### 5.1.2 Use of Hokkien and other regional dialects

#### 5.1.2.1 Use of Hokkien and other regional dialects by immigrants and their children

Besides Hokkien itself, a number of other Southern Chinese dialects can be found in Pasuruan: Hokchia (Fuqing), Hokchiu (Fuzhou), Hinghwa (Xinghua), Hakka and Cantonese. These are spoken by first-generation immigrants and are generally understood by their descendants, although the latter almost never speak them. The youngest of these immigrants are already in their 50s, and since there have been no new immigrants since the 1950s, one can safely predict that Hokkien and other regional dialects will cease to function as codes as their speakers die. Only very few Peranakan know the distinctions between the different regional dialects; most of them simply refer to them as /omong cina/ (lit. *Chinese talk*) or /omong sing kèq/ (lit. *new guests' talk*). They do not even distinguish regional dialects from Mandarin. Non-Chinese tend to generalise all Chinese dialects also.

The second-generation immigrants feel more comfortable speaking to one another in Javanese, Malay/Indonesian and Mandarin, although one does find occasions when they use an utterance or two from their parents' Chinese dialect. Let us now look at examples of (Hokkien) speech to see the difference in usage among the different generations. Example (1) below is a short exchange between two first-generation immigrants, men in their late 60s. They run a store together, helped by their families. In (1), one of them (A) has just arrived in the store in the morning, and sees his business partner (B) reading the morning paper.

- (1) A: ki<sup>33</sup> na<sup>55</sup> jit<sup>55</sup> e<sup>33</sup> pó<sup>51</sup> cua<sup>51</sup> u<sup>11</sup> sim<sup>55</sup> miq<sup>55</sup> sin<sup>33</sup> bun<sup>24</sup> bó?

(今日的报纸有什么新闻)

/today possessive-marker report paper exist what news not-exist/  
Is there anything [interesting] in today's paper?

B: bou<sup>33</sup> tek<sup>11</sup> piat<sup>55</sup>.  
 (无特别)  
 /not-exist special/  
 Oh, nothing special.

The short exchange is entirely in Hokkien, the old men's native language, and there is nothing particular to remark about it except that it is in standard Hokkien.

Inspection of the part of my corpus that contains conversations between first-generation immigrants and their children, however, reveals a different situation. Example (2) below is a conversation between an old Hokkien woman in her 60s (A), who immigrated in the 1920s, with her daughter-in-law (B), whose parents had arrived in the Indies at around the same time as A, but who was born in Pasuruan as the couple's youngest child some time in the late 1930s. It is dinner time, and members of the family have taken turns eating dinner while others manage the shop in front, but for some reason B's son, A Lóng, has not come to eat his dinner yet. Thus A asks:

(2) A: a<sup>33</sup> lóng<sup>24</sup> u<sup>11</sup> sim<sup>55</sup> miq<sup>55</sup> tai<sup>11</sup> ci<sup>11</sup> m<sup>11</sup> ciaq<sup>55</sup>?  
 (阿龙有什么事不吃?)  
 /a<sup>33</sup> lóng<sup>24</sup> exist what reason not eat/  
 What's the matter with A Lóng; how come he's not eating [dinner]?

B: i m ai, i kong gaq lué.  
 (/i<sup>55</sup> m<sup>11</sup> ai<sup>51</sup>, i<sup>55</sup> kong<sup>51</sup> .../ 伊不爱, 伊讲)  
 /he not want, he say not hungry/  
 He [just] doesn't want to; says he's not hungry.

Note that in (2) the mother-in-law speaks in standard Hokkien with the expected tones and so on, but the daughter-in-law answers half in Hokkien, but continues in Javanese (/gaq lué/ not hungry). Indeed, among second-generation immigrants mastery over their parents' Chinese dialect tends to be to such an extent that they seem to understand them quite well, but cannot speak without recourse to Javanese when they do not know the right words in the Chinese dialect.

At another time at the opening party of an arisan whose members were predominantly second-generation Totok, special attention was paid to the way the Totok interacted. Most of them greeted each other in Hokkien (Hokkien speakers being the predominant dialect group in Java in any case) although it was not unusual for some to reply in Javanese or Malay/Indonesian. But the Hokkien utterances were pronounced without the expected tones. Thus, we have an exchange like (3) below:

(3) A: kwi é lang?  
 (/kui<sup>55</sup> e<sup>33</sup> lang<sup>24</sup>?/ 几个人)  
 /how-many classifier person/  
 How many people [are in the arisan]?

B: cap nji.  
 (/cap<sup>32</sup> ji<sup>33</sup>./ 十二)  
 /ten two/  
 Twelve.

The short exchange was entirely in Hokkien, with the right tones used and so forth, but afterwards the two people continued to speak in Javanese, and actually never returned to speaking Hokkien all during the party. There were also exchanges



like (4), where the interlocutor replied in Javanese, and the conversation was then continued in Javanese.

- (4) B: an-cwa, ko?  
 (/an<sup>51</sup>-cuã<sup>51</sup>, kó<sup>55</sup>. / 安 □, 哥)  
*/what's up, older-brother/*  
*How are you?*

B: yhaa, lumayan.  
*/well, fairly-good/*  
*Not bad.*

As a matter of fact, no second-generation Totok was observed, at all, being able to sustain a conversation in full Hokkien (or their respective regional dialect) for any length of time. Another thing to note is the fact that the people observed at the *arisan* party were mostly already in their late 40s and early 50s. The fact that they did not use Mandarin at all seemed to point to the fact that their parents arrived in the 1920s rather poor and probably did not pay too much attention to formal education (which for the Totok then would have been in Mandarin). Indeed competence in Mandarin among these people's generation would indicate a deal of education in that medium, which in turn is a function of class, the early upper-class Totok being the ones who were able to afford long-term education in Mandarin for their children in those days. Another factor that one might consider is the possibility that their generation's education was not so smooth. Being school-age children in the 1940s meant that their schooling was probably interrupted by the Japanese occupation and the Indonesian revolution.

In terms of the use of Chinese dialects, then, there seemed to be an important influence imposed by educational opportunities on the second-generation Totok. This is manifested in the (limited) use of a regional dialect by those whose parents had just arrived and were rather poor in the 1910s and 1920s, and the fairly extensive use of Mandarin by those who grew up in the 1930s, whose parents had arrived earlier and had had more time to become affluent and then started to pay attention to formal education. Also, in the 1930s more Mandarin-educated Totok arrived in the Indies, and this too seemed to influence the sociolinguistic make-up of the Totok community in terms of the use of Chinese dialects (cf. Siauw 1981:49, 61).

#### 5.1.2.2 Attitudes towards Hokkien and other regional dialects

Let us now shift our attention to the attitude towards Hokkien and other regional dialects. The second-generation Totok mentioned above seem to consider the use of a few phrases from their parents' regional dialect as a symbolic gesture, an in-group code, as it were. This is related to the use of Hokkien forms, to be discussed presently, which also serves the function of signifier of in-group solidarity. Many Peranakan, especially of the upper class, tend to think badly of the loudness with which Totok speak in general, especially when they speak a Chinese dialect. Some of my Peranakan informants even state that they (meaning the Totok) should be ashamed of themselves speaking in Chinese in public. I recorded remarks such as

How can they not feel embarrassed, speaking as loud as possible, in Chinese too, and in public, when there are other people [meaning non-Chinese] around.<sup>5</sup>

A very few even reported physical unease at hearing somebody speak "Chinese": they actually felt nauseated, they said. Apparently what they meant by "Chinese" could be anything from a Chinese regional dialect, Mandarin, to a variety of Javanese or Malay/Indonesian with very many borrowings from Chinese dialects.

Thus, while most Peranakan also share the Hokkien forms that identify them as a Chinese minority, when it comes to speaking a Chinese dialect as a code, there is a distinct cleavage in usage (no Peranakan speaks a Chinese regional dialect as a code) and attitude. This difference is another facet of the manifestation of the Totok-Peranakan difference.

### 5.1.3 Hokkien forms as identity markers

Similar to the function of the use of utterances in Hokkien and other regional dialects just discussed, the use of Hokkien forms when speaking Javanese and Malay/Indonesian also serves the function of signifying common Chinese identity. Hokkien speakers having been the predominant dialect group among Chinese immigrants to Java for a long time, these Hokkien forms are used by all Chinese in Java when speaking another code (except Mandarin, where the use of these forms is limited to names and kinship terms). In a situation where one's Chinese identity is not directly obvious, they allow the interlocutor(s) to know that the speaker is Chinese, and that s/he knows that the latter are also Chinese. They are also used by non-Chinese who have had frequent contacts with Chinese. Some Peranakan feel uncomfortable about using them, especially in public. They then pretend their ignorance of these forms, and some even criticise their use as being un-Indonesian.

In general, we can categorise the Hokkien forms into names; kinship terms; pronouns, pronominals and terms of address; terms for things, concepts and institutions from Chinese culture; and numerals.

#### 5.1.3.1 Names

Most of the Chinese of Pasuruan still have Chinese names. Even the young Peranakan who were born after the mass change of name of 1967-1968 and so were not given a Chinese given name at least know their Chinese family name. Whereas Totok know the meaning of Chinese names, most Peranakan only know that of their own names and those of their immediate relatives. In fact, many Peranakan parents give their children Chinese names according to how euphonious the syllables are, and in most cases do not even know the meaning of those names. They thus name their children after famous Chinese personalities, or after ancestors, combining one syllable from here and another from there.

Hokkien syllables that are reminiscent of or homophonous with taboo words in Javanese and Malay/Indonesian are usually avoided. For example, many Peranakan avoid using the syllable /séng/ (which in standard Hokkien can mean a number of different things depending on its tone; however, tones have been lost in the Hokkien forms used by all but first-generation Hokkien Totok), because /séng/ reminds people of the Javanese word /éséng/ *excrement*. Also avoided is a syllable like /tay/ or /tèy/, since again it is reminiscent of, indeed almost homophonous with, the Malay/Indonesian /tai/ *excrement*. In fact, Chinese children with such names are often subjected to teasing from their schoolmates and playmates, both non-Chinese and Chinese.

One interesting difference between Totok and Peranakan names is the use of the syllable /a/ (/a<sup>55</sup>/ 阿) in front of the second syllable of the given name in the appellative and informal designative (or affectionate) use of some Totok given names. For example, someone whose family name is /lim/ (Hokkien /lim<sup>24</sup>/ 林) and whose given name is /jéng lyong/ (Hokkien /c'eng<sup>33</sup> liong<sup>51</sup>/ 清龙) is often called /a lyong/ (/a<sup>33</sup> liong<sup>51</sup>/ 阿龙). Peranakan do not use this syllable at all. Another difference, this time peculiar to most Peranakan female given names, is the use of the syllable /nyó/ (/niū<sup>24</sup>/ 娘) after the given names. For example, one finds given names such as /yhang nyó/ (/hiang<sup>11</sup> niū<sup>24</sup>/ 香娘) or even /kim wha nyó/ (/kim<sup>33</sup> hua<sup>11</sup> niū<sup>24</sup>/ 金花娘). Totok female names do not use this syllable at all.

In the discussion of the use of Javanese names (Section 4.2.3.5), we noted that many Chinese use them only in public. In private these people use their Chinese name. This again depends on how much contact they have with modern Indonesian life; the more contact they have, the less frequently do they use their Chinese name. In the family, especially, only Chinese names are used, unless a particular person does not have a Chinese name, or is called by a non-Chinese nickname. It should be mentioned here that many upper-class Peranakan have always had Dutch or Christian given names in addition to their Chinese given names, and many use the former names in the family and among close friends, even long before the mass name-changing of 1967-1968. Among intimates, it again depends on which names they are first known to each other by. Generally speaking, if they use their Chinese names when they are introduced, chances are that they will keep using Chinese names. Also, people who knew each other by their Chinese names before 1967-1968 tend to keep using Chinese names with each other, and those that did not know each other until after the change of names, usually use their new, Javanese names. Sometimes two Chinese would disclose their Chinese names to each other as a symbol of friendship or in-group solidarity, but this again depends on their orientation. Those who are Indonesian-oriented tend to avoid doing this, to the point of feeling very embarrassed about disclosing their Chinese name.

Besides personal names, Hokkien forms are used to refer to categories of people. First of all there are names for different dialect groups, such as /hok kyan/ itself (/hok<sup>55</sup> kian<sup>11</sup>/ 福建) Hokkien (Fujian), /hok jya/ (/hok<sup>55</sup> c'ia<sup>55</sup>/ 福清) Hokchia (Fuqing), /hok cyu/ (/hok<sup>55</sup> ciu<sup>55</sup>/ 福州) Hokchiu (Fuzhou), /gèq/ (/k'eq<sup>51</sup>/ 客) Hakka and so forth. These names are of course also used to refer to the respective Chinese dialects. Mandarin is, at least to older Peranakan, known as /céng im/ (/ceng<sup>51</sup> im<sup>55</sup>/ 正音, lit. *correct pronunciation*).

The Totok are referred to by Peranakan (and non-Chinese, too) as /sing kèq/ (/sin<sup>33</sup> k'eq<sup>55</sup>/ 新客, lit. *new guest*). This is considered a derogatory term, however. Another name for Totok is /teng swa kwé/ (/tng<sup>33</sup> suā<sup>33</sup> kue<sup>51</sup>/ 唐山鬼, lit. *Tang mountain devil*). This latter term seems to be familiar only for older Peranakan.<sup>6</sup> All Chinese are referred to as /teng lang/ (/tng<sup>33</sup> lang<sup>24</sup>/ 唐人, lit. *people of Tang*). When referring specifically to Overseas Chinese, then the term /wha kyow/ (/hua<sup>33</sup> kiau<sup>24</sup>/ 华侨) is used. Javanese are referred to as /whan a/ (/huan<sup>33</sup> a<sup>51</sup>/ 番仔, lit. *foreigner, barbarian, native*). This term is considered derogatory, and my informants usually explained at first that actually the word only means *native*, which should not be derogatory, in their opinion, but once they gained my confidence, they would usually explain that it could also mean *barbarian*. Madurese are referred to by the term /kwé su/ (/kue<sup>51</sup> su<sup>11</sup>/ 过泗 [lit. *past the murky water*] or 过屿 [lit. *small island across*]), and Arabs by the term /swa céng/ (/sua<sup>33</sup> ceng<sup>51</sup>/ 沙钟 [lit. *desert people*]). It is interesting to note that /kwé su/ is never used derogatorily, while /swa céng/, like /whan a/, could be used simply to refer to the people or as a derogatory term.

### 5.1.3.2 Kinship terms

In Sections 4.2.3.4 and 4.3.4.4, we discussed kinship terms of Javanese and Malay provenience. As hinted there, most kinship terms referring to ego's ascending generation are of Hokkien provenience. Certain terms for ego's generation are also of Hokkien provenience; we cannot generalise about their forms, however. Chart 5.1 shows all the kinship terms of Hokkien provenience used in the community. Where Peranakan and Totok usage differs, it will be indicated.

A few exceptions and variations should be mentioned concerning the terms on Chart 5.1. Many Westernised families use the Dutch-originated /papi/ (pappie *daddy*) and /mami/ (mammie *mummy*); these are mostly upper-class Peranakan families, although a few Totok families have also started using them. Some women, especially non-Westernised Peranakan, refer to their husband as *older brother* and thus use /ngko/, and call him by the shortened form /ko/. Totok and other Peranakan just use the husband's given name. Men generally use their wife's given name when calling her. When referring to their spouse in speaking to another person, however, only some women use /ngko/ to refer to their husband. Otherwise, people use the Javanese or Malay/Indonesian terms (q.v. Sections 4.2.3.4 and 4.3.4.4).

The Chinese concept of *maternal grandfather* and *maternal grandmother*, which in Hokkien are expressed by /gua<sup>11</sup> kong<sup>55</sup>/ ㄍㄨㄚˊ ㄎㄨㄥˋ and /gua<sup>11</sup> mā<sup>51</sup>/ ㄍㄨㄚˊ ㄇㄚˇ (/gua<sup>33</sup>/ literally meaning *outer*) are known in their loan translations /ngkong luar/ and /maq luar/ (/luar/ literally meaning *outer* also). The use of /gua<sup>33</sup>/ or its loan translation /luar/ is a reflection of the patrilineal kinship system of the Chinese. The maternal grandparents are thus considered "outsiders". It is interesting to note, however, that among the Peranakan there has developed the attribute /dalem/ *inner* to qualify /ngkong/ and /maq/ when referring to paternal grandfather and grandmother. This is not found in the original Chinese system; paternal grandparents are just unmarked. It seems, then, that as the system changed in the Peranakan culture, the need was felt to label paternal grandparents as well, since now both poles of the opposition paternal <--> maternal became marked.

In Westernised families, the complicated terms (13) to (24) have been replaced by the Dutch terms /óm/ (oom) *uncle* and /tante/ (tante) *aunt*. Interestingly, however, most families only use these for parent's younger siblings and their spouses. The older siblings and their spouses are usually still referred to by the Hokkien terms. It seems that many people, especially younger people, are rather confused by the plethora of terms, and feel a strong urge to simplify the system.

Chart 5.1

EGO'S GENERATION		Hokkien originals and Chinese characters
1. OBr	ngko, kó kó(Af)	an <sup>55</sup> kó <sup>55</sup> 阿哥, kó <sup>33</sup> kó <sup>33</sup> 哥哥
2. OSi	ta ciq, ci ciq(Af)	tua <sup>11</sup> ci <sup>51</sup> 大姊, ci <sup>55</sup> ci <sup>51</sup> 姊姊
3. OBrWi	nsó, ngsó; a só(T); 2	an <sup>55</sup> só <sup>51</sup> 安嫂, a <sup>33</sup> só <sup>51</sup> 阿嫂
4. OSiHu	ci hu(R), 1	ci <sup>55</sup> hu <sup>55</sup> 姊夫
5. Cousin with same family name	pyow(R); 1, 2 if O	piau <sup>51</sup> 表
6. 5's Wi (if 5 is O)	3, 2	
7. 5's Hu (if 5 is O)	1	
8. Cousin with different family name	jín tong(R); 1, 2 if O	c'in <sup>33</sup> tong <sup>24</sup> 来堂
9. 8's Wi (if 8 is O)	3, 2	
10. 8's Hu (if 8 is O)	1	
PARENT'S GENERATION		
11. Fa	pa pa	pa <sup>33</sup> pa <sup>55</sup> 爸爸
12. Mo	ma ma	mā <sup>55</sup> mā <sup>51</sup> 妈妈
13. FaOBr, FaOSiHu, MoOBr, MoOSiHu	mpèq, a pèq(T)	an <sup>55</sup> peq <sup>32</sup> 唉伯, a <sup>33</sup> peq <sup>32</sup> 阿伯
14. FaOSi	waq ko(P), a ko(T)	... ko <sup>55</sup> ... 姑, a <sup>33</sup> ko <sup>55</sup> 阿姑
15. FaOBrWi, MoOBrWi	waq ko(P), waq m(P); a m(T)	... m <sup>51</sup> ... 姆, a <sup>33</sup> m <sup>51</sup> 阿姆
16. FaYBr	ncéq, a céq(T)	an <sup>55</sup> cek <sup>32</sup> 唉叔, a <sup>33</sup> cek <sup>32</sup> 阿叔
17. FaYBrWi	ncim, a cim(T)	an <sup>55</sup> cim <sup>51</sup> 唉孀, a <sup>33</sup> cim <sup>51</sup> 阿孀
18. FaYSi	ko, a ko(T)	ko <sup>55</sup> , a <sup>33</sup> ko <sup>55</sup> 阿姑
19. FaYSiHu	ko tyó, ntyó; a tyó(T)	ko <sup>33</sup> tiū <sup>33</sup> 姑丈, an <sup>55</sup> tiū <sup>33</sup> 唉丈 a <sup>33</sup> tiū <sup>33</sup> 阿丈
20. MoOSi	waq i(P), a iq(T)	... i <sup>24</sup> ... 姨, a <sup>33</sup> i <sup>24</sup> 阿姨
21. MoYBr	ngku, a ku(T)	an <sup>55</sup> ku <sup>33</sup> 唉舅, a <sup>33</sup> ku <sup>33</sup> 阿舅
22. MoYBrWi	ngkim, a kim(T)	an <sup>55</sup> kim <sup>33</sup> 唉姪, a <sup>33</sup> kim <sup>33</sup> 阿姪
23. MoYSi	iq, a iq(T)	i <sup>24</sup> 姨, a <sup>33</sup> i <sup>24</sup> 阿姨
24. MoYSiHu	iq tyó, ntyó; a tyó(T)	i <sup>33</sup> tiū <sup>33</sup> 姨丈, an <sup>55</sup> tiū <sup>33</sup> 唉丈 a <sup>33</sup> tiū <sup>33</sup> 阿丈
GRANDPARENT'S GENERATION		
25. FaFa	ngkong ðalem(P), a kong(T)	an <sup>55</sup> kong <sup>55</sup> ... 唉公, a <sup>33</sup> kong <sup>55</sup> 阿公
26. FaMo	maq ðalem(P), maq(T)	mā <sup>51</sup> ... 妈 ..., 妈
27. MoFa	ngkong luar(P), gwa kong(T)	an <sup>55</sup> kong <sup>55</sup> ... 唉公..., gua <sup>11</sup> kong <sup>55</sup> 外公
28. MoMo	maq luar(P), gwa maq(T)	mā <sup>51</sup> ... 妈 ..., gua <sup>11</sup> mā <sup>51</sup> 外妈
29. 25-27's OBr, OSiHu	pèq kong	peq <sup>5</sup> kong <sup>55</sup> 伯公
30. 25 & 27's Si, 29's Wi	ko pó	ko <sup>33</sup> po <sup>24</sup> 姑婆
31. 25 & 27's YBr	céq kong	cek <sup>5</sup> kong <sup>55</sup> 叔公
32. 31's Wi	cim pó	cim <sup>55</sup> po <sup>24</sup> 孀婆
33. 26 & 28's YBr	ku kong	ku <sup>11</sup> kong <sup>55</sup> 舅公

(cont'd over)

34. 33's Wi	kim pō	kim <sup>11</sup> po <sup>24</sup> 姪婆
35. 26 & 28's Si	lq pō	i <sup>33</sup> po <sup>24</sup> 媳婆
36. 35's Hu	tyō kong	tiū <sup>11</sup> kong <sup>55</sup> 文公
NOTE: 29-36 are also used to refer to 25-28's cousins and their spouses as if they were siblings and their spouses		
GREAT-GRANDPARENT'S GENERATION		
37. PaPaFa, PaPaPaBr, PaPaPaSiHu	kong co	kong <sup>33</sup> co <sup>51</sup> 公祖
38. PaPaMo	maq co	mā <sup>55</sup> co <sup>51</sup> 妈祖
39. PaPaPaSi, PaPaPaBrWi	pō co	po <sup>33</sup> co <sup>51</sup> 婆祖
GREAT-GREAT-GRANDPARENT'S GENERATION		
40. PaPaPaFa, PaPaPaPaBr, PaPaPaPaSiHu	kong co co (P)	kong <sup>33</sup> co <sup>55</sup> co <sup>51</sup> 公祖祖
41. PaPaPaMo	maq co co (P)	mā <sup>55</sup> co <sup>55</sup> co <sup>51</sup> 妈祖祖
42. PaPaPaPaSi, PaPaPaPaBrWi	pō co co (P)	po <sup>33</sup> co <sup>55</sup> co <sup>51</sup> 婆祖祖
-----		
Explanation of Abbreviations:		
Af affectionate	Pa parent	
Br brother	R used as term of reference only	
Fa father	Si sister	
Hu husband	T Totok usage only	
Mo mother	Wi wife	
O older	Y younger	
P Peranakan usage only		

Chart 5.1: Kinship terms of Hokkien provenience

## 5.1.3.3 Pronouns, pronominals and terms of address

The Hokkien first and second person singular pronouns /gua<sup>51</sup>/ 我 and /li<sup>51</sup>/ 你 are used in speaking non-polite Malay by some Chinese. The two words are pronounced /gua/ and /lu/, and were borrowed into Malay quite a long time ago.<sup>7</sup> As a matter of fact, they are the commonly used non-polite pronouns in Jakarta and Betawi Malay, and in Kupang Malay in the Eastern Islands.

Chinese men use the first-person pronoun /wé/ (/ówé/ or /uwé/), especially when speaking politely to other Chinese. It is also used by men in place of /saya/ (lit. I) when agreeing with someone. This pronoun seems to originate from Hokkien /ue<sup>55</sup>/ 诺, which in Hokkien is used to reply when the speaker has been called by someone and wants to let him/her know that s/he has heard the call. Now /saya/ is also used in the same way, so that probably /wé/ gradually underwent a semantic extension and became, like /saya/, the first-person pronoun. It is interesting to note that women never use it. In Hokkien itself there is no such gender split in the first-person pronoun, so this seems to reflect the fact that in the formation of the Peranakan community the men were Chinese, but for a while the women were not.

Quite a few kinship terms are used as pronominals and terms of address. The terms for *father* and *mother*, /papa/ and /mama/, are often used by non-Chinese to call Chinese men and women of their parents' generation. This is no doubt an analogy with the Javanese and Malay/Indonesian /bapa/ *father* and /ibu/ *mother*, which are also used in that way. No Chinese use /papa/ and /mama/ in this way. Instead, they use /ncéq/ (lit. *father's younger brother*) and /ncim/ (lit. *father's younger brother's wife*) to refer to Chinese men and women of their parents' generation. Peranakan also use /mpèq/ (lit. *parent's older brother or brother-in-law*) and /waq/ (lit. *parent's older sister or sister-in-law*) to refer to these

people (mostly also Peranakan). These terms are usually used to refer to men and women who, to the speaker, appear non-Westernised; those who appear Westernised are usually referred to by Dutch terms of address (q.v. below, Section 5.3.3.4).

People of one's own generation are referred to by the terms for one's own siblings, namely /ngko/ *older brother* and /ta ciq/ *older sister*. The duplicated forms /kó kó/ and /ci ciq/ seemed, from my observation, to be used as affectionate terms by young children only. Married women are referred to by /nsó/ and /ngsó/ *older brother's wife* by men, especially when the latter intend to be polite. Women with an age difference usually decide who is older and the older one is referred to by /ta ciq/ and the younger one by /adéq/ (of Javanese or Malay/Indonesian provenience).

Young children refer to men and women of their grandparents' generation by using /ngkong/ *grandfather* and /maq/ *grandmother* respectively. Otherwise, elderly people are referred to as if they were of one's parents' generation, except that in this case /mpèq/ *parent's older brother* and /waq/ *parent's older sister* are used. Little boys are sometimes referred to by the term /ko ciliq/ *little older brother, little fella*, especially when the speaker is being affectionate to them. The /ciliq/ is of Javanese provenience.

Finally, there is the term of address /yóq/, which is used by servants and lower-class Javanese and Madurese in general all over Central and East Java and Madura. I have not been able to trace the original form, which could be of Hokkien provenience, since the term is only used in the Chinese community. /yóq/ can be followed by the suffixes showing order of age when in a household or extended family there are more than one person to refer to by using the term, and can also be followed by the person's name.

#### 5.1.3.4 Terms for Chinese things, concepts and institutions

As Chinese immigrated to the archipelago, they brought along their food with them. Some of these have become commonplace Indonesian food, such as /tahu/ (/tau<sup>11</sup> hu<sup>33</sup>/ 豆腐, *tofu, soy flour cake*) and /mi/ (/mǐ<sup>33</sup>/ 面, *noodles*). However, there are other food items and dishes the names of which are only known to Chinese or those who have an interest in Chinese food. These names are all in Hokkien, and include names such as /hi sit/ (/hi<sup>33</sup> sit<sup>32</sup>/ 魚翅, *shark fins*), /ang syó hi/ (/ang<sup>33</sup> sió<sup>33</sup> hi<sup>24</sup>/ 紅燒魚, *red-braised fish*) and /syó ké/ (/sió<sup>33</sup> ke<sup>55</sup>/ 燒雞, *braised chicken [Chinese style]*).

Besides names for food, one finds in the Chinese community that names for certain uniquely Chinese things are also in Hokkien. These include terms such as /yhó/ (/hiū<sup>55</sup>/ 香) *incense*, which is used in ritual, /ang pow/ (/ang<sup>33</sup> pau<sup>55</sup>/ 紅包) *red envelope (containing money, used in proposals, and given as gifts)* and so on.

Certain concepts from Chinese culture are referred to by using the Hokkien terms. The concept of *filial piety*, for example, is almost always expressed by the term /how/ (/hau<sup>11</sup>/ 孝). Somebody who shows filial piety is said to be /u how/ (/u<sup>11</sup> hau<sup>11</sup>/ 有孝, lit. *to have filial piety*) and somebody who does not is said to be /put how/ (/put<sup>33</sup> hau<sup>11</sup>/ 不孝, lit. *not to have filial piety*). Another example is the term for *family name*, which is /sè/ (/sǐ<sup>11</sup>/ 姓). Certain terms have something to do with the fields of business and commerce. One finds the use of terms such as /pun ci/ (/pun<sup>33</sup> ci<sup>24</sup>/ 本錢) *capital*, /dow kè/ (/t'au<sup>33</sup> ke<sup>55</sup>/ 頭家) *boss* and so forth. Under the New Order the term /cu kong/ (/cu<sup>55</sup> kong<sup>55</sup>/

主公) has become popular, even to refer to many non-Chinese, because of the rise of the new-type businessmen associated with big companies and close connections with indigenous authorities.

Names of Chinese festivals are also of Hokkien provenience, such as /sin cya/ (/sin<sup>33</sup> ciã<sup>11</sup>/ 新正) *lunar new year*, /cap nggo mè/ (/cap<sup>32</sup> go<sup>51</sup> mĩ<sup>24</sup>/ 十五冥) *festival on the 15th day of the new year, officially ending the new year celebrations period*, /céng mbéng/ (/c'eng<sup>33</sup> beng<sup>24</sup>/ 清明) *festival when people go to the graves of relatives, clean them and present offerings and so on*. The lunar calendar is called /im léq/ (/im<sup>33</sup> lek<sup>32</sup>/ 阴历), and the solar, western calendar, /yhang léq/ (/iang<sup>33</sup> lek<sup>32</sup>/ 阳历).<sup>8</sup>

### 5.1.3.5 Numerals

In Section 3.5.2 was mentioned the use of Hokkien numerals when speaking Javanese and Malay/Indonesian. These numerals are usually used for talking about prices and telling time. For Chinese themselves about the only function this kind of use serves is that of showing in-group solidarity. Thus, when a Chinese customer goes into a Chinese store and immediately bargains by using these numerals, s/he is trying to tell the store-owner that s/he is Chinese, and that the latter had better play it straight with him/her. Moreover, when the store-owner starts giving the price in Hokkien numerals, then s/he is telling the customer that s/he knows that the latter is also Chinese, and that s/he can rest assured that the deal is going to carry on in a straightforward manner. Of course, the usual bargaining goes on, and the customer may end up paying too much.

Non-Chinese especially resent the use of Hokkien numerals, since most of them do not understand them. They feel something fishy is going on when, for example, a store-owner is consulting about the price of a merchandise with another person in the store, using Hokkien numerals. In fact, some Chinese store-owners do use these numerals to discuss the purchase price of their merchandise when they are not sure how much to sell it for to a customer. As such, the numerals become a sort of secret code. In fact, as we shall see later when discussing Mandarin and Dutch numerals, the use of the "foreign" codes sometimes serves the function of a secret code. Some non-Chinese have even learned these numerals, and have the impression that if they bargain using Hokkien numerals they will get lower prices, which of course is not necessarily true. What is definitely true is that if a non-Chinese understands the Hokkien numerals, then s/he may point out the purchase price of a certain merchandise when it is discussed by the owner of the store, so that the latter cannot charge him/her too high. Between two Chinese, however, there seems to be no rhyme nor reason as to when Hokkien numerals are used and when numerals from other languages are used.<sup>9</sup>

## 5.2 THE FUNCTION OF MANDARIN

### 5.2.1 A historical perspective

#### 5.2.1.1 Reformed education in Mandarin

The change from Hokkien to Mandarin symbolised an emerging cultural nationalism in the Chinese community at the beginning of the 20th century. This nationalism was typically embodied in the *Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan*, founded in 1900. As noted earlier (p.2), there was a growing dissatisfaction with traditional Chinese education in Hokkien. Barely three months after its foundation, the *Tiong Hoa*



Hwee Koan opened its first school in Batavia, where instruction was to be given in Mandarin, called /céng im/ 正音 (lit. *correct pronunciation*) in Hokkien. It was only later on, as an indirect result of the National Language Unification Movement in China, that it was called *guoyu* 国语 *national language* in Mandarin itself (Chao 1976d:97). Although in 1901 there was only one Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan school in Batavia, by 1908 there were 54 schools in the entire Indies (Suryadinata 1972:54).

The primary emphasis of the Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan schools was the teaching of Mandarin, which was also the medium of instruction. The person to be credited for this choice seems to be Phoa Keng Hek 潘景赫, one of the founders of the Batavia branch of the Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan. It was chosen because it was seen as a unifying language for people of the different dialect groups which by then were already numerous enough. Besides the fact that Hokkien was reminiscent of the useless traditional education, the use of Hokkien in the new schools was thought to be a deterrent to the unification of all Chinese, at home and abroad. It should be remembered that the language of nationalism in China itself was also Mandarin (hence the name *guoyu national language*), and indeed Mandarin was viewed favourably by Chinese communities everywhere. There was even talk about Mandarin being the "sacred language for all Chinese" (Williams 1960:69-70, 138).

It was difficult to obtain the teachers at first, but gradually there were enough of them, mostly brought in from China, especially after the mid-1920s. However, the linguistic problems faced by these teachers were, as Williams puts it, "formidable". He goes on to describe the way they taught, in these words:

In the early days of the THHK [Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan] schools it was often necessary for a teacher to rely on the constant assistance of an interpreter who knew Malay or, less commonly, Amoy dialect [Hokkien]. Even when the teachers could operate alone and in kuo-yü [guoyu], their command of that dialect was likely to be weak. The writer has been told that many of the overseas Chinese schools turned out graduates able to communicate in kuo yü only among themselves, no Chinese brought up in that dialect being able to understand them.

(Williams 1960:75)

Since the teachers were mostly from Southern China, and the students were mostly native speakers of a local language or Malay, the Mandarin learned was characterised by interference from Southern Chinese dialects (usually Hokkien) and local languages (cf. *inter alia* Pwa 1950:26).

The Dutch colonial government was alarmed at the rapid development of Chinese nationalism, especially as manifested in Chinese-medium education, so they decided to win the Peranakan Chinese over to their side by opening the *Hollands-Chinese Scholen* (Dutch-Chinese Schools) in 1908. Most Peranakan were won over (q.v. below), so that eventually most of the students of the Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan schools were Totok children. This explains why, as we shall see presently, Mandarin became the identifying code for the Totok.

Mandarin-medium education continued to be the preference of the Totok until the Japanese occupation (1942-1945), when all Dutch-medium schools were closed, and some Peranakan children went to Mandarin-medium schools. This was at best a brief interlude, since after Indonesia declared independence most Peranakan preferred Indonesian-medium education. Furthermore, the 1958 prohibition on Chinese who were Indonesian citizens from enrolling in these schools steered even more Peranakan children (since most Peranakan were Indonesian citizens) into Indonesian-medium schools (Murray 1964:77-78).

### 5.2.1.2 Indonesian language policy towards Chinese

At different times in the history of independent Indonesia, the government has tried to eradicate Chinese-medium education. Murray (1964) reports that as early as in the 1950s, a few experimental schools were set up, where Chinese was taught as a second language. This type of school did not seem to survive very long, however. An Inspectorate of Foreign Schools was created in 1952, basically to keep control over Communist-Guomindang conflicts. For a while in the 1950s Chinese-medium education was actually expanding. "By 1957, over 1,600 private Chinese schools were said to be operating throughout Indonesia, and enrolment may have reached 300,000" (p.77). That was also the year the government crack-down started. In an effort to ensure "national education" for all students, the government nationalised hundreds of Chinese-medium schools and converted them to Indonesian-medium schools using the state curriculum. As mentioned above, only non-citizens were allowed to attend the remaining Chinese-medium schools. By 1959, only 490 of these schools were left (Murray 1964:77-78).

However, a later regulation stipulated that Chinese-medium schools were permitted in 150 major cities and provincial towns, although the principals and teachers had to be able to speak Indonesian, and Indonesian language and history had to be taught. There were also tighter measures taken concerning the entry of foreign teachers into the country. At any rate, by 1962 there were still 100,000 students in Chinese-medium schools in Indonesia (Murray 1964:78).

After the 30th of September Movement coup attempt in 1965, which was partly blamed on the People's Republic of China, the Indonesian New Order government, in addition to freezing diplomatic relations with the People's Republic, decided to ban Chinese-medium education once and for all. School buildings in some places, including Pasuruan, were taken over and handed over to Indonesian schools, whereas in others the schools were quickly changed into Indonesian-medium schools. As a result, many non-citizen Chinese children had to drop out of school, since only very few could directly transfer to the other already-crowded schools. Siauw (1981) estimates the number of pupils affected by this policy at 272,782 (p.362)! Only later on in 1968 did the New Order government, by Presidential Decree No.B12/Pres./I/1968, permit the establishment of *Sekolah Nasional Project Khusus* (Special Project National Schools).<sup>10</sup> These schools were taught in Indonesian, but Chinese was given as a second language. However, the number did not compare to the pre-New Order number of Chinese-medium schools. As a matter of fact, in 1975 the Minister of Education and Culture issued a decree closing all these schools. Thus ended 75 years of history of education in Mandarin.

It is interesting to note that what the Indonesian government intended to curb was not education for the Chinese itself, since even now at least pre-university education is open to non-citizen Chinese, and with a special permit from the Department of Education and Culture, non-citizen Chinese can attend university.

Before we go on discussing these measures directed towards Mandarin, we should realise that newspapers in Mandarin have also been periodically harassed by the Indonesian authorities.<sup>11</sup> As early as 1958, for example, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, General Nasution, "issued an order declaring that all newspapers published in other than Latin [i.e. Roman] and Arabic letters would be allowed to operate only if they published in the Indonesian language" (Suryadinata 1976:780). Suryadinata continues his explanation thus:

The order, however, was later modified. A few Chinese newspapers were permitted to be published on the grounds that there was still a need for such newspapers in order to inform

the Chinese about government policies, regulations and other matters. But these newspapers were banned again. Only in 1963 when Sino-Indonesian relations were cordial did Chinese language newspapers appear again.

(Suryadinata 1976:780)

After the 1965 Coup, however, all these newspapers were banned again, and since April 1966 only the *Yindunxiya Ribao* 印度尼西亞日報 has been allowed to publish. This paper, sponsored and controlled by the government, originally appeared in Jakarta and Medan, North Sumatra. In 1974 the Medan edition was closed, and the Jakarta edition had increasingly more contents written in Indonesian (Suryadinata 1976:780).

At the time of my field research half of the contents of *Yindunxiya Ribao* were in Mandarin and the other half in Indonesian. It is interesting to observe what is published in which language. Important national news, business news, advertisements, short stories and poems (on Sundays), film reviews (especially of Mandarin films), serialisations of novels, women's columns and youth columns are published in Mandarin. Published in Indonesian are international news, less important national news, short stories and poems (on Sundays only), reviews of Indonesian and Western films, economic columns, and Indonesian lessons. One gets the impression that the propaganda part is published in Mandarin. As for business news, the more important economy columns are in Indonesian. Apparently this is intended to induce the readers (mostly Totok) to learn Indonesian. In November 1982, the then Minister of Information, General Ali Moertopo, said in Parliament that eventually the entire paper would be published in Indonesian (cf. inter alia "Harian Indonesia, filter ...").

More recently, it has become especially clear that for some reason it is the Chinese language (bahasa Cina), meaning Mandarin and other Chinese dialects, both spoken and written, that the government associates most with Chinese identity, or, in the government's parlance, Chinese culture (kebudayaan Cina). In the aftermath of the Coup, Major-General Sumitro, the Commander of the Brawijaya VIII Army Regional Command in East Java, acting as Regional War Authority, issued on 31 December 1966, a regulation which, among others, "prohibited the use of Chinese characters and language in the fields of economy, finance, commercial bookkeeping and telecommunications".<sup>12</sup> The general's decision may have been influenced by suggestions drawn up at the Regional Working Conference of the East Java *Lembaga Pembinaan Kesatuan Bangsa* (Institute for the Cultivation of National Unity), which was held from 15 to 17 December (cf. inter alia "Hasil Konkerda LPKB Djawa-Timur"). There did not seem to be a nationwide regulation concerning this ban, however, although each province may have issued its own regulation.<sup>13</sup> East Java province seemed to be singled out for this ban because there were more alien Chinese (most of whom were Totok who spoke Chinese dialects) throughout rural East Java than in other provinces of Java.<sup>14</sup>

In 1972 the Film Censorship Board ruled that Chinese characters were not to be used on billboards and other advertisements for films (Suryadinata 1976:781). It seemed to take some time for this regulation to take effect, since for a few years after that one could still see films advertised in Chinese characters. Beginning probably in 1980, however, no Chinese characters have appeared. Instead, whatever is in Chinese is transliterated in a haphazard way to become what, to the makers of the advertising materials, best represents their pronunciation of Mandarin.

It was only in 1978 that a nationwide decree was issued by the Minister of Commerce and Cooperatives (Decree No.386/1978), banning the import, sale and distribution of all kinds of publications and printed matter in the Chinese

language and in Chinese characters (cf. inter alia "Chinese Books Seized"). The Attorney General issued a similar decree (Decree No.029/1979) which banned the circulation of videocassettes and videodiscs containing materials of any kind in Mandarin or other Chinese dialects or using Chinese characters (cf. inter alia "Kaos Bertulisan Aksara Cina ...").

What is interesting from the linguistic point of view in the banning of spoken and written Chinese is the fact that it was carried out first by military authorities, and later by the Minister of Commerce and the Attorney General, and not by the existing language-policy-making agency, the *Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa* (Centre for the Cultivation and Development of Language). In fact, in the Centre's publications on national language policy, Chinese dialects are never mentioned, not even when discussing foreign languages (cf. Halim 1976). Chinese dialects must then have been considered a serious security issue.

It also becomes an intriguing question, then, why the Indonesian authorities singled out Chinese dialects for banning. Note especially the way General Nasution's regulation mentioned above was worded. Its implication is that one can only publish in Indonesian, or in any other language as long as it is written in Roman or Arabic script. Thus, it seems that it was Chinese characters more than the spoken language as such that was felt to be a security issue. It seems, then, that hypothetically one could publish in Chinese, but write it in Roman or Arabic script. Note, for example, that following Nasution's ban, an Army spokesman explained the ban on Chinese-language newspapers as being aimed at "restricting the use of a language with which the Indonesian people are not familiar [sic]".<sup>15</sup>

Apparently Chinese characters are considered complicated, impenetrable, inaccessible, and hence mysterious and potentially threatening. Hidayat (1977) typically represents the attitude of some indigenous Indonesians concerning the use of Chinese dialects:

... the freedom of Chinese who are Indonesian citizens to speak and write in the Chinese language would give them a chance to have a secret language in their group. The indigenous community's ignorance of the Chinese language and Chinese characters [sic], would facilitate misunderstandings and suspicions, even though the contents did not contain anything that could be harmful. These groundless suspicions and prejudices could easily be misused by other parties or subversives who want to create chaos in Indonesian society.

...<sup>16</sup>

As a matter of fact, the use of Chinese dialects is often connected with "threats to national security by Communist forces". This is of course very much associated with the presence of an alien minority, some of whom use the characters, that the authorities fear may be used for "subversive activities by the People's Republic". There is thus a similarity with the feeling of many indigenous people about the mysterious, economically powerful, exclusivist (hence inaccessible) Chinese.

The official explanation for the banning of Chinese, incidentally, is that the government intends to thwart the development of Chinese culture in the Chinese community (*menghindarkan berkembangnya kebudayaan Cina di masyarakat Cina*). This is aptly reflected in the opinion of Hidayat (1977), namely that

... Chinese language lessons and the cultural traditions of their ancestral land would facilitate the temptation not to tolerate the life patterns of Indonesian society.<sup>17</sup>

Put more positively, sometimes the explanation is given that, by discouraging the development of Chinese culture, the Chinese minority can assimilate into their brothers and sisters more quickly (supaya dapat lebih cepat membaaur dengan saudara-saudaranya). Let me quote Hidayat again on this:

The loss of the use of Chinese language and characters in daily communications in social life as well as in the family would speed up the acculturation into the Indonesian life patterns ...<sup>18</sup>

## 5.2.2 Use of Mandarin

### 5.2.2.1 Use of spoken Mandarin

Mandarin is spoken by those who have had Mandarin-medium education or have learned it from those who have. Some people are able to use Mandarin fully, in the sense of not using forms from other languages when at their wit's end as to what Mandarin word to use next. Generally speaking, the more Mandarin-medium education one has had, the more s/he uses Mandarin without interference from Javanese and Malay/Indonesian. However, most people speak it with some interference from Javanese and Malay/Indonesian. Put in another way, one could say they speak Javanese or Malay/Indonesian with Mandarin borrowed forms. It is thus important to distinguish the use of Mandarin as a code, from the use of Mandarin borrowed forms in speaking Javanese or Malay/Indonesian.

Now it is not so simple to decide whether people are speaking Mandarin, or Javanese or Malay/Indonesian because the syntactic structures of Mandarin and Javanese or Malay/Indonesian have many similarities. Thus, an utterance may begin in Javanese for example, and half way through switch to Mandarin forms, and one would be hard put to determine if it is a Javanese or a Mandarin utterance. When asked, however, informants usually stated that they speak Mandarin (/omong kwo i/ to talk Mandarin or /cyang kwo i/ [jiang<sup>214</sup> guo<sup>35</sup> yu<sup>214</sup> 讲国语 to talk Mandarin), when in fact half or more of the forms that many of them use are not of Mandarin provenience.

Let us now look at the way Mandarin is used as a code. The following portion of a conversation is between two Totok men in their 40s. They finished high school in Mandarin in the late 1950s. One of them (A) was visiting his former schoolmate (B) in the latter's store (both of them had gone into business), when another one of their schoolmates, a woman of about the same age, happened to pass by and greeted them. Afterwards, A remarked to B how she still looked rather young for her age.

- (5) A: hwang<sup>35</sup> cin<sup>55</sup> cang<sup>214</sup>-teq si<sup>51</sup>-pu-si<sup>51</sup> hen<sup>214</sup> nyèn<sup>35</sup> jing<sup>55</sup>. ni<sup>214</sup> gan<sup>51</sup> da<sup>55</sup>  
haw<sup>214</sup>-syang<sup>51</sup> san<sup>55</sup> si<sup>51</sup>-ci<sup>214</sup> swé<sup>51</sup>.  
(Huang<sup>35</sup> Jin<sup>55</sup> zhang<sup>214</sup>-de shi<sup>51</sup> bu-shi<sup>51</sup> hen<sup>214</sup> nian<sup>35</sup> qing<sup>55</sup>. ni<sup>214</sup> kan<sup>51</sup> ta<sup>51</sup>  
hao<sup>214</sup>-xiang<sup>51</sup> san<sup>55</sup> shi<sup>51</sup>-ji<sup>214</sup> sui<sup>51</sup> 黄金长的是不是很年青. 你看他好象三十几岁.)

/hwang cin grow-nominaliser be-not-be very young. you look she like thirty-odd year./

Hwang Cen looks young [for her age], doesn't she? She looks as if she were still thirty or so, don't you think?

- B: si<sup>51</sup> a, swé<sup>35</sup> rhan<sup>35</sup> ja<sup>51</sup>-pu-two<sup>55</sup> si<sup>51</sup> si<sup>51</sup>-u<sup>214</sup> swé<sup>51</sup> leq, puq<sup>35</sup>-kwo<sup>51</sup> gan<sup>51</sup>-puq-ju-lhay<sup>35</sup>

(shí<sup>51</sup> a, suí<sup>35</sup> rān<sup>35</sup> chā<sup>51</sup> bu-duo<sup>55</sup> sì<sup>51</sup> shí-wu<sup>24</sup> suí<sup>51</sup> le, bu<sup>35</sup> guo<sup>51</sup> kàn<sup>51</sup> bu-chu-lai<sup>35</sup>. 是啊, 虽然差不多四十五岁了, 不过看不出来.)  
 /be a, although almost forty-five year change-of-status-marker, but not-visible/  
 Yeah, doesn't she? Although she's almost forth-five years old, she doesn't look it.

A and B's utterances and the rest of their conversation comprise the "best" Mandarin data in my corpus. Although there are traces of Javanese phonology in their pronunciation (cf. Section 3.3.2.5), they use the expected tones correctly, and in fact all through their conversation one cannot find lexical borrowings from Javanese or Malay/Indonesian which, incidentally, they also speak.

But people like them form a small group with a high amount of Mandarin-medium education, in a small town like Pasuruan. In any case, most highly educated people (in any medium language) generally tend to go to the major urban centres. In between people like A and B, who speak almost perfect Mandarin, and those who only use Mandarin borrowed forms in their Javanese or Malay/Indonesian, one finds people who attempt to use Mandarin, with varying degrees of competence. For example, a group of Totok women was observed during a trip in a minibus; all through the ride, which lasted a little over an hour, they all spoke Mandarin, but some spoke with interference from Javanese or Malay/Indonesian, or even merely spoke Javanese or East Java Malay with Mandarin borrowings here and there.

At some point a new passenger wanted to get into the vehicle, and asked the owner how many people were already sitting on the back seat.

- (6) Passenger: hó myèn cǐ kó rén, mé?  
 (hou<sup>51</sup> mian ji<sup>24</sup> ge ren<sup>35</sup>, mei<sup>51</sup> 后面几个人, 妹?)  
 /behind side how-much classifier person, younger-sister/  
 How many people are [already sitting] on the back [seat]?

Owner: hèn?  
 /hən/  
 What?  
 who có teq ndéq tenga.  
 (wo<sup>24</sup> zuo<sup>51</sup> de .... 我坐的....)  
 /I sit nominaliser in middle/  
 I'm sitting on the middle [seat].

The owner of the minibus is implying that since she is sitting on the middle seat, then the new passenger can sit on the back seat. Note the use of Javanese or Malay/Indonesian /ndéq tenga/ *in the middle*. It is difficult to decide whether or not the last sentence in (6) is Mandarin. Since the syntactic structures of Mandarin and Javanese are very similar in such utterances, one cannot on the basis of the syntax of the utterance determine whether it is Mandarin or Javanese. The phrase /who có teq/ (*I sit nominaliser*) is readily replaceable by a Javanese phrase like /lónggó-ku/ (*sit-my*) *my sitting*. Given that the speech event started in Mandarin, one could surmise that the minibus owner was also trying to reply in her best Mandarin, but for some reason did not seem to be able to find the expression for *in the middle*, and thus resorted to Javanese.

Here is another example from the conversation of two other women. They are both in their late 30s. The first one (A) asks the second one (B) why she is going on the ride with her mother, and B replies that she is taking her to the doctor's.

- (7) B: sǒng who<sup>214</sup> teq mu-jin tow i-seng.  
 (song<sup>51</sup> wo<sup>214</sup> de mu<sup>214</sup>-gin dao<sup>51</sup> yi<sup>55</sup> sheng<sup>55</sup>. 送我的母亲到医生.)  
 /send I possessive-marker mother arrive doctor/  
 [I'm] taking my mother to the doctor.

A: mau nggèn=é i-seng.  
 (... yi<sup>55</sup> sheng<sup>55</sup>. ... 医生.)  
 /want place=possessive-marker doctor/  
 [I see, you're] going to the doctor's.

Note that B speaks in full Mandarin, and even uses the expected tone on /who/ I, but A only uses the forms for *doctor*, whereas the rest of her utterance is in East Java Malay. Generally speaking, unless one does not know Mandarin at all, one tries to reply in the best Mandarin one can muster when spoken to in Mandarin by those who have mastered it really well. As we shall see later in Section 5.3.2.1, the same situation prevails in the case of the use of Dutch among upper-class Peranakan. Being able to use Mandarin (or Dutch) among people of the generation for whom education would have been in the two languages is something to be proud of.

At this point it is important to try to set up a kind of schema to see what kind of people speak Mandarin how well and what kind only use Mandarin borrowings in their Javanese or Malay/Indonesian. Competence in Mandarin is primarily a function of how much Mandarin-medium education one has had, be it formal or informal (a very few parents successfully taught their children to speak, read and write Mandarin even after the schools were closed in 1965). Thus, we saw earlier in example (5) the two Totok men speaking in almost perfect Mandarin. We also noted the passenger in example (6) and B in example (7), who spoke Mandarin without tones (B only used the 214 tone on one word). If we look at the background of people like them, it seems that they did not have more than elementary education in Mandarin. Those who only use Mandarin borrowings in their Javanese or Malay/Indonesian, like the minibus owner in example (6) and A in example (7), have had contacts with people who speak good Mandarin, but their active competence of the language is rather low, so that like the minibus owner, they would shift to Javanese or Malay/Indonesian midway in their utterances, or like A, would repeat a word here and there to show that they do understand Mandarin, but cannot produce entire utterances in it.

Young people who do not have any chance at all to be educated in Mandarin after the closing of the schools tend to resemble the minibus owner and A. In fact, of all those Totok informants in their 20s and younger, only one could sustain a conversation in Mandarin (but she spoke without the expected tones). Her case is rather special, though. Her father used to teach at the Chinese school in town, and was very disappointed when it had to be closed. He rigidly maintained a rule that the language of the home was to be Mandarin, and to a large extent succeeded, as evidenced by his only daughter's mastery of Mandarin (which is remarkable given that she never formally went to Mandarin-medium school). However, this girl is considered rather strange, especially by my Peranakan informants, because she always starts a conversation in Mandarin with no matter whom, and only when the addressee replies that s/he does not understand will she switch to Javanese or Malay/Indonesian. The following is part of a recorded conversation between her, her employer at the photo store where she worked, who is only slightly older than her, and a Totok customer in her 50s. The elderly woman wanted a passport photo made for an identity card, and afterwards the employer told the girl to write the slip needed for fetching the pictures when they were ready.



- (8) Employer: gaè=qno surat. ncim=é gaèq=no surat.  
 /make=benefactive-marker letter. aunt=determiner make=benefactive-  
 marker letter/  
*[Why don't you] write the slip for her?*
- Customer: tiga kali tiga.  
 /three by three/  
*[Print the pictures] three by three [cm.].*
- Girl: surat?  
 /letter/  
*[What] slip?*
- Employer: tiga kali tiga.
- Girl: san jen san ciq cang?  
 (san<sup>55</sup> cheng<sup>35</sup> san<sup>55</sup> ji<sup>214</sup> zhang<sup>55</sup>? 三乘三几张?)  
 /three by three how-many sheet/  
*Three by three; how many [do you need]?*
- Employer: piro lembar?  
 /how-many sheet/  
*How many [do you need]?*
- Customer: piro, tiga yha biasa=é, yha?  
 /how-many, three yes usual=determiner, yes/  
*How many [is needed]? Isn't it three usually?*
- Employer: san cang.  
 (san<sup>55</sup> zhang<sup>55</sup>. 三张)  
 /three sheet/  
*Three.*

Note especially how the employer had to act as a kind of interpreter between the girl and the elderly customer. The elderly woman is representative of the children of the immigrants who arrived in Java rather poor and thus did not pay too much attention to educating their children. The fact that the employer felt it was necessary to translate even such simple utterances seems to indicate so. The employer had incomplete elementary education in Mandarin, and thus understood it, but from other conversations recorded or observed, she tended to be more like the minibus owner in (6). The young employee is, as noted earlier, an exception. Most people her age may use Mandarin borrowed forms (see Section 5.2.3), but otherwise speak Javanese or Malay/Indonesian.

If we compare the competence in Mandarin of all the people whose conversations I quoted so far, a fairly clear picture emerges which shows that especially since the closing of Mandarin-medium schools almost 20 years ago, one sees a decline in the use of Mandarin as a code. Whereas people who went to Chinese school before 1965 and managed to get enough education would be able to speak fairly good Mandarin (albeit without tones), those who only had a smattering of Mandarin-medium education or none at all tend to use Mandarin borrowed forms in their Javanese or Malay/Indonesian.

The use of Mandarin or Mandarin forms is almost exclusively limited to the Totok community, and then again limited to those who have had Mandarin-medium education. Since Mandarin-medium education has since the beginning been popular only among Totok and less so among Peranakan, it is understandable that Mandarin is in many ways an identity marker of the Totok community.



### 5.2.2.2 Use of Mandarin in public

In Pasuruan there is a Pentecostal church that holds services in Mandarin and Indonesian. Readings from the scripture, sermons and so on are conducted in Mandarin, but immediately translated into Indonesian for those who are not so fluent in the language. There are also bible-study meetings in Mandarin, but during the discussions people would freely use Malay/Indonesian.

Speeches at Totok weddings are often given in Mandarin. For these, a fluent speaker of Mandarin is usually procured, although this may constitute more of a symbolic gesture than anything else.

### 5.2.2.3 Use of written Mandarin

When we turn our attention to written Mandarin, we find out that it is the language of literacy for many Totok, except probably for those who have had an all-Indonesian education since the closing of Mandarin-medium schools in 1966. Many Totok store-owners keep their books in Mandarin, for example, and all formal written communications in the Totok community are carried out in Mandarin. Thus, wedding invitations are usually printed using Chinese characters, but for the benefit of those who do not read these, a translation in Indonesian is also printed. Death notices are also written in Chinese characters, again with an Indonesian translation sometimes appended. At Totok weddings and wakes for a dead person, banners with boldly written Chinese characters can still be seen. They are also used in Totok funeral processions. Gravestones also feature Chinese characters, although the fact that there are already Totok who are not literate in Chinese has made some people put Romanisations of the names as well. It is interesting to note that the use of Mandarin is allowed when it has to do with religious practices. Thus, although signs using Chinese characters are banned, the sign in the front hall of the Chinese temple is written in Chinese characters. Temple publications are in Mandarin and Indonesian, and sometimes the Chinese characters are Romanised in the way Mandarin is pronounced in places like Pasuruan (see Section 3.3.2.5). Perhaps that is why Chinese characters may be used at weddings, wakes and funerals.

About 80 families subscribed to the *Yindunxiya Ribao*, the only Chinese-language newspaper in the country, which, incidentally, is not available at news-stands. Some of my informants, however, do not like the way it is written because they think it reeks of government propaganda. Most people prefer popular magazines from overseas (Hongkong, Taiwan, Singapore and so on), which are circulated in limited quantities among friends in the community itself and which are available for purchase at the shopping centres in Surabaya, the provincial capital. Modern as well as classical novels in Mandarin are also widely read in the Totok community. These are, like the magazines, published overseas. Quite a few used magazines and books are circulated in the Totok community, and many of the items sold at the shopping centres in Surabaya are used copies.

The fact that these reading materials are officially illegal did not seem to bother anyone in the least. During a briefing session for alien Chinese, most of whom were Totok, an official of the State Prosecutor's Office exhorted the people present to hand in their Chinese reading materials to his office, but everybody ignored him. Also, none of my informants remembered the ban on the use of Chinese dialects in telecommunications (meaning basically the telephone) (see Section 5.2.1.2). Even the officials at the telephone office have forgotten about the whole thing.

As far as can be determined, there is no literature being written in Mandarin in the community. If we look at the Sunday editions of the *Yindunixiya Ribao*, however, we find that there are poems and short stories written by some of the readers of the paper. Every Sunday we can find two or three poems and one short story published. As far as could be observed during field research, however, nobody in Pasuruan actively contributed to this literary production. When we examine the authors, they turn out to be of different age groups, although most of them live in Jakarta or other areas of Indonesia where a Chinese dialect is still actively spoken by the Chinese there, such as Bangka and Belitung Islands. It should be an interesting study in itself to examine these literary pieces written by Chinese Indonesians who are still literate in Mandarin.

As a matter of fact, not much is known by the non-Chinese-speaking world about the literary production of the people literate in Mandarin in Indonesia. Salmon (1983) discusses a few authors, both those who still live in Indonesia and those who have "returned" to China. Apparently Goh Thean Chye 吳天才 is compiling

a bibliography of the literature in Chinese emanating from writers based, or who have been based for a time in ASEAN countries [the Association of South-East Asian Nations, which includes Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand].

(Salmon 1983:205,n.8)

During the course of interviews with Totok informants, however, it became obvious that none of them were aware of the existence of this literature in Chinese by Chinese Indonesians.

#### 5.2.2.4 Maintenance of Mandarin

Many of my Totok informants, especially those of the upper class, stated that they were teaching their children to speak, read and write Mandarin. Upon closer observation, however, I found out that the children only knew a few characters and could hardly be said to be mastering the language at all. As a matter of fact, even the Mandarin-educated adults tended to confuse some similarly shaped characters. For example, <亲> qin<sup>35</sup> was at times confused with <亲> tai<sup>51</sup>, or that <中> zhong<sup>55</sup> was confused with <仲> zhong<sup>51</sup>. It seemed that what the parents meant by "Mandarin" was Mandarin with a lot of Javanese and Malay/Indonesian interference. They always explained that the reason they were teaching their children Mandarin was because Mandarin was a national language for the Chinese, and that since Indonesian-medium education, especially at the university level, according to them, was closed to them, they hoped that their children could eventually go to college in Taiwan. As a matter of fact, my informants told me that Taiwan did offer scholarships to Overseas Chinese students, but apparently there are no Pasuruan students going to Taiwan to study.

Nor is Mandarin being taught in an organised way, for example by a private tutor. Some informants declared that at one time somebody who used to teach at a Mandarin-medium school offered private tutorials to some children, but the local neighbourhood chief found out and reported him to the police, and apparently he had to stop teaching. Efforts to obtain further information on him or to locate him were unsuccessful. In any case, the Special Project National Schools were the last few schools to be allowed to teach Mandarin as a second language. Nowadays Mandarin is only taught at the Faculty of Letters of the University of Indonesia in Jakarta, with an enrolment of about 15-20 students in every incoming

class. A few private language institutes in big cities do teach Mandarin, but the public does not seem to be particularly interested.

#### 5.2.2.5 Mandarin as a symbol of Chinese identity

Even for some older Peranakan, who experienced the heyday of the Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan and the spirit of Chinese nationalism through the pages of *Sin Po*<sup>19</sup> in the first half of this century, Mandarin is still a unifying symbol of the Chinese. One of my informants, a Peranakan woman in her early 70s, said that at one time she tried to learn Mandarin (/kwo ü/ [guo<sup>35</sup> yu<sup>24</sup> 国 语]) because she felt as a Chinese she should know the language. She asserts that young people, especially those who have a chance to go overseas, should learn Mandarin, since, in her words, "they'll be embarrassed when they meet other Overseas Chinese and they can't speak Mandarin".<sup>20</sup>

Another one of my Peranakan informants, a man in his 50s, was at one time eating in a Chinese restaurant owned by a Peranakan family. A white person entered and started speaking Mandarin to the proprietor, who obviously could not answer in Chinese at all. My informant then related how, according to him, the proprietor blushed and felt very embarrassed (/mèra mukaqña ðan merasa malu/) because of that.

During my rounds of interviewing people, both Peranakan and Totok who did not speak Mandarin or their ancestors' regional dialect often became embarrassed and apologetic when asked about their ability to speak Chinese dialects. But it remains merely a symbol, and as the Chinese assimilate into Indonesian society, it may eventually go. In fact, the more educated, younger Peranakan informants, especially those who have tried hard to become Indonesianised, tend to underline how ignorant they can be of Chinese dialects. When asked why they ignore them, especially when some of them know a few European languages, they retorted by arguing that Chinese dialects were not their language to begin with (/bukan bahasa kita koq/).

#### 5.2.3 Mandarin forms as identity markers

If Mandarin eventually goes, however, certain forms from it are still going to be in use when Totok speak Javanese and Malay/Indonesian. These Mandarin forms include names; a few kinship terms; pronouns, pronominals and terms of address; terms for certain things, concepts and institutions (usually, but necessarily, pertaining to Chinese culture); and numerals.

##### 5.2.3.1 Names

Totok and Peranakan both are familiar with, say, Chinese classical literature, but they pronounce the names of the characters and even the titles of the works differently. Totok will pronounce them in Mandarin pronunciation, while Peranakan, in Hokkien pronunciation. For example, the monkey hero Sun Wukong 孙悟空 in the *Xiyou ji* 西游记 "Journey to the West" is known as /sen u góng/ by the Totok and as /sun gó kong/ by the Peranakan.

Place names are also pronounced differently by Totok and Peranakan. While Peranakan say /hong kong/ for Hongkong, Totok generally say /syang kang/ (xiang<sup>55</sup>

gang<sup>214</sup> 香港). Totok also have Mandarin names for certain places in Indonesia, which are not used by Peranakan. The name for Surabaya, for example, is /sɿ swé/ (sɿ<sup>51</sup> shuí<sup>214</sup> 泗水), and that for Jakarta is /yhéq jén/ (yé<sup>55</sup> chéng<sup>35</sup> 椰城). Some of my Totok informants gave me the name for Pasuruan, which is 岩望 (yán<sup>35</sup> wáng<sup>51</sup>), but I have never known of its actual use.

Mandarin terms are used to refer to certain categories of people in the community by Totok. All Chinese are referred to as /cóng kwoq rhen/ (zhong<sup>55</sup> guo<sup>35</sup> rén<sup>35</sup> 中国人) *people of China*, and less frequently as /wha jyow/ (hua<sup>35</sup> giao<sup>35</sup> 华侨), especially when referring specifically to Overseas Chinese. Peranakan are referred to as /jyow sen/ (qiao<sup>35</sup> sheng<sup>55</sup> 侨生) *overseas born*. Indigenous Indonesians are referred to as /in ni rhen/ (yin<sup>51</sup> ní<sup>35</sup> rén<sup>35</sup> 印尼人) *people of Indonesia*. Chinese who are Indonesian citizens are referred to as /in ni jiq/ (yin<sup>51</sup> ní<sup>35</sup> jì<sup>35</sup> 印尼籍) *Indonesian citizen*, while those who are not are usually referred to as /cóng kwoq jiq/ (zhong<sup>55</sup> guo<sup>35</sup> jì<sup>35</sup> 中国籍) *Chinese citizen*, without regard to citizenship of the Chinese People's Republic or of Taiwan.

Mandarin is referred to as /kwo i/ (guo<sup>35</sup> yu<sup>214</sup> 国语) by Totok and non-Dutch-speaking Peranakan, and as /kwo ü/ by Dutch-educated Peranakan (who learned the /ü/ sound in Dutch). Some Totok who were educated in the Mandarin-medium school when the teachers were pro-Peking call it /bu dōng wha/ (pu<sup>214</sup> tōng<sup>55</sup> hua<sup>51</sup> 普通话), which is its official name in the Chinese People's Republic.

#### 5.2.3.2 Kinship terms

Very few Mandarin kinship terms are in use in the Totok community. It should be kept in mind, of course, that when people are speaking Mandarin as a code itself, then all kinship terms are used. However, here only the ones that are still used when speaking Javanese and Malay/Indonesian are discussed. Interestingly, the terms used are only for ego's own generation. There is still a further limitation: the terms for ego's older brother and older sister are those of Hokkien provenience (see Section 5.1.3.2). Ego's younger brother is referred to as /ti ti/ (dì<sup>51</sup> dì 弟弟), and ego's younger sister is referred to as /mé mé/ (mèi<sup>51</sup> mèi 妹妹). Ego's older brother's wife is referred to as /sow sow/ (sao<sup>214</sup> sao 嫂嫂). Women sometimes refer to their husbands as /who teq cang fu/ (wó<sup>214</sup> de zhang<sup>51</sup> fu 我的丈夫) *my husband*, always with the /who teq/ preceding the term for husband. There were no signs of men using a Mandarin term to refer to their wives, however.

#### 5.2.3.3 Pronouns, pronominals and terms of address

The first-person singular pronoun /who/ (wó<sup>214</sup> 我), second-person singular pronoun /nhi/ (ní<sup>214</sup> 你), first-person plural pronoun /who men/ (wó<sup>214</sup> men 我们), and second-person plural pronoun /nhi men/ (ní<sup>214</sup> men 你们) are used when speaking polite Malay.

Of the Mandarin kinship terms that are used in the community, only that for *younger sister* (/mé mé/ [mèi<sup>51</sup> mèi 妹妹]) is used as a pronominal and term of address. The small number of Mandarin kinship terms used by the Totok seems to point out that Mandarin has never been more than a rallying symbol for these people. When it comes to the things that are dearest to their hearts, in this case kinship terms, they use those from their regional Chinese dialect.

#### 5.2.3.4 Terms for certain things, concepts and institutions

Mandarin forms are used by Totok when speaking Javanese or Malay/Indonesian to refer to a number of different things. Some of these have no equivalents in Javanese or Malay/Indonesian, but most of the others do have equivalents. The use of the latter forms, then, is mainly to show in-group solidarity.

Things having to do with the western calendar are often referred to by using forms of Mandarin provenience. Thus, times of the day, days of the week, dates, months and years are often said in Mandarin. For example, while speaking Javanese or Malay/Indonesian, a Totok may use /pèy ol/ (bai<sup>35</sup> er<sup>51</sup> 拜二) *Tuesday*, /ol se iq how/ (er<sup>51</sup> shí<sup>35</sup> yí<sup>55</sup> hao<sup>51</sup> 二十一号) *the twenty-first* and so on. The terms for *day*, *week*, *month* and *year* are often used, also. For example, to say *five days* while speaking Javanese or Malay/Indonesian, Totok often use /u dyèn/ (wu<sup>214</sup> tian<sup>55</sup> 五天), and to say *a month*, they often use /i kó yhéq/ (yí<sup>55</sup> ge yue<sup>51</sup> 一个月). Mandarin forms are also used for other time words, such as /cin dyèn/ (jin<sup>55</sup> tian<sup>55</sup> 今天) *today*, /mhing dyèn/ (ming<sup>35</sup> tian<sup>55</sup> 明天) *tomorrow* and so forth.

Mandarin forms are sometimes used to refer to certain professions, although their Javanese or Malay/Indonesian equivalents are used, too. For example, workers are referred to as /kóng rhen/ (gong<sup>55</sup> ren<sup>35</sup> 工人), and doctors as /i seng/ (yí<sup>55</sup> sheng<sup>55</sup> 医生). Teachers are referred to as /lhow s+/ (lao<sup>214</sup> shí<sup>55</sup> 老师). Activities that have to do with education are often referred to in Mandarin. For example, to take extra lessons is referred to as /pu siq/ (bu<sup>214</sup> xi<sup>35</sup> 补习), and to work part-time while studying is referred to as /pan tóng pan tuq/ (ban<sup>51</sup> dong<sup>51</sup> ban<sup>51</sup> du<sup>35</sup> 半动半读, lit. *half work half read*).

Certain institutions in the community are referred to by using Mandarin forms. For example, the name for an association of people originating from the same locality in China is /dóng syang wéh/ (tong<sup>35</sup> xiang<sup>55</sup> hui<sup>51</sup> 同乡会). The Mandarin-medium school used to be called the /cóng wha swé syow/ (zhong<sup>55</sup> hua<sup>35</sup> xue<sup>35</sup> xiao<sup>51</sup> 中华学校).

Also referred to by using Mandarin forms are processes, machines and so forth that are part of modern technology. To have one's hair permed is referred to as /dang/ (tang<sup>51</sup> 烫). A camera is called /cow syang ci/ (zhao<sup>51</sup> xiang<sup>51</sup> ji<sup>55</sup> 照相机).

#### 5.2.3.5 Numerals

Earlier on (Section 5.1.3.5), we discussed the use of Hokkien numerals in the Chinese community. Mandarin numerals are only used by Totok, and a very few Peranakan who have frequent contacts with them. There does not seem to be any rhyme or reason as to when people use the Hokkien numerals and when they use the Mandarin ones. Generally speaking, when a Totok uses Mandarin numerals to a Peranakan, and the latter does not understand and says so, the Totok will maintain the use of Hokkien numerals or Javanese or Malay/Indonesian ones if the Peranakan does not even know Hokkien numerals. As far as non-Chinese are concerned, they cannot tell the difference between the Hokkien and Mandarin numerals, so they resent their use altogether. As in the case of Hokkien numerals, Mandarin numerals serve the function of a secret code, and an even more convenient one at that, as most Peranakan do not understand them. In fact, since many Totok went through Mandarin-medium education, when they want to conceal something even from Peranakan, they can conveniently use as many Mandarin words as possible to prevent non-Totok bystanders from understanding them (cf. the similar use of Dutch below, Section 5.3.3.6).

As we saw earlier (Section 5.2.3.4), things having to do with time are often referred to by using Mandarin forms, including numerals. Prices are also often quoted in Hokkien or Mandarin. As a matter of fact, Mandarin forms are almost always used when Totok are dealing with each other in business. Phrases such as /tó sow/ (duo<sup>55</sup> shao<sup>24</sup> 多少) *how much, how many*, /cya jyèn/ (jia<sup>51</sup> gian 价钱) *price*, /seq cya/ (shi<sup>35</sup> jia<sup>51</sup> 实价) *fixed price* and /byèn i/ (pian<sup>35</sup> yi 便宜) *cheap* are commonly used. Thus, the rest of the conversation may be in Javanese or Malay/Indonesian, but those phrases will be used again and again, and their Javanese or Malay/Indonesian equivalents are almost never used.

### 5.3 THE FUNCTION OF DUTCH

#### 5.3.1 A historical perspective

##### 5.3.1.1 Dutch up to the end of the 18th century

The first Dutchmen came to the archipelago in the expedition of Cornelis de Houtman (1596). In 1602 the United East Indies Company (*Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*) was established. However, the Dutch language had to compete with Portuguese and Malay at the time. In fact, when de Houtman and his men arrived in Jayakarta (later called Batavia by the Dutch) on the evening of 13 November 1596, the following day a *shahbandar* (harbour master) came aboard, speaking good Portuguese (de Haan 1935:3, citing de Houtman's account). Portuguese seemed then the lingua franca used in communications with Europeans.

Curiously, the Dutch, even among themselves, quickly adopted that lingua franca. Nieuwenhuis (1930), for instance, explains that "thus a young generation of Netherlanders grew up - with or without Indigenous blood - for whom our language was not a mother tongue any longer".<sup>21</sup> Boxer, in his study of Dutch colonialism from 1600 to 1800, explains that

[t]he wives - or consorts - of the Dutchmen who married in Asia were ... mostly of Indo-Portuguese descent. Even those who were not had been brought up under Indo-Portuguese cultural influences, for reasons described by Gov.-Gen. Maetsuyker and his council in 1659: "The Portuguese language is an easy language to speak and easy to learn. That is the reason why we cannot prevent the slaves brought here from Arakan who have never heard a word of Portuguese (and indeed even our own children) from taking to that language in preference to other languages and making it their own."

(Boxer 1965:224)

European travellers who visited Batavia in the 17th and 18th centuries all remarked at the fact that Portuguese was the lingua franca of the Dutch settlements. Schuchardt (1890) quoted the description by Sir George Staunton of the travels of Lord Macartney in East Asia (1792-1794), which reported the use of Portuguese among workers or servants in Dutch households, as well as among the ladies (1890:19). He also quoted Nicolas de Graaf, who visited the Indies between 1639 and 1637, who reported that the children of Dutchmen preferred to be with the slaves to being with their parents. In this way they learned a bastardised Portuguese, right until they grew up. When people spoke to them in Dutch, they would only smile or say *noke save I don't know* (i.e. from Portuguese *nunca sabe*; pp.7-8; cf. also Boxer 1965:225).

As discussed earlier when explaining why Malay - and not Dutch - became the language of administration in the Indies by the end of the 19th century, the

same reason, i.e. a combination of pride in being able to speak a foreign language and lack of intimate contacts between the men and their families, brought about the rise of the use of Portuguese in these families (cf. Section 4.3.1.2). This situation prevailed until the end of the 18th century. During that century, Portuguese slowly started to wane, probably largely because the Portuguese-speaking Christian congregation did not receive fresh preachers who were able to speak good Portuguese, whereas the Portuguese creole was considered unfit for worship. The last Portuguese preacher, Abraham Anthonij Engelbrecht, died in 1808, and as if coincidentally, the Portuguese church was destroyed by a fire that same year (Schuchardt 1890:7; de Haan 1935:402).

One should not say that the Dutch neglected their language altogether, though. Even before the Dutch seized Jayakarta and renamed it Batavia, there had already been a Dutch school in the fort. Lessons were mostly given in Dutch, although with great difficulty, since Portuguese seemed to have gained the upper hand. The question of choosing between Portuguese and Dutch was given great attention by the government, especially during the war between the Company and the Portuguese. However, especially after the Portuguese were defeated in 1663, the mastery of Portuguese was attempted by a great number of Batavia's inhabitants (de Haan 1935:405).

Nevertheless, there were sporadic efforts to spread the use of Dutch. In 1617, for example, the Gentlemen Seventeen (*Heren Zeventien*), who ruled over the United Company, with the approval of Parliament (*Staten-Generaal*), issued an instruction to the Governor-General to spread Christianity, especially by setting up good schools using Dutch as the medium of instruction (Brugmans 1937:42). In 1641 the use of Dutch among slaves was encouraged. Only those slaves who understood and spoke the language were allowed to wear a hat or a cap without the risk of being flogged (Nieuwenhuis 1930:3). A church order of 1643 stipulated that only Dutch was allowed as the medium of instruction in schools, but it seems to have been all but ignored (Nieuwenhuis 1930:3).

In fact, Portuguese and Malay seemed to prevail in Company circles, as evidenced among others by the fact that in January 1673, of the five services held on Sunday at a church in Batavia, only one was in Dutch, the other four being in Portuguese and Malay (Prick van Wely 1906:6). The abovementioned church order seemed to have been forgotten by 1778, when a new school ordinance was issued in Batavia to make Dutch the medium of instruction in schools (Nieuwenhuis 1930:3).

### 5.3.1.2 Dutch as medium of education

It was only in 1816 that Dutch-medium schools were officially established, mainly for Dutch children (Suryadinata 1972:51). In the second half of the 19th century, Dutch missionaries and retired civil servants opened private schools. Since most of the Muslim indigenous people seemed not to be interested in the Christian-oriented schools of the missionaries, the students there were predominantly Peranakan Chinese (Suryadinata 1972:51-52). Late in the century, a few children of elite Chinese officers and wealthy merchants were admitted into government schools (Suryadinata 1972:52). Only boys seemed to go to these official schools; girls in elite households were educated by Dutch governesses in Dutch language and etiquette (Williams 1960:37-38, Salmon 1981:18). In general one can say that the Dutch virtually neglected the question of education in Dutch for the Chinese until early this century.

As noted above Peranakan children were among the first pupils in the schools opened by Dutch missionaries late in the 19th century (cf. also Tio 1958:18-19).

Indeed, the spread of Christianity among upper-class Peranakan was carried out through Dutch-medium Catholic and Protestant education and proselytisation, especially after the turn of this century (cf. Hartono 1974:131-132; Jones 1976: 25). Thus, many of the older Dutch-speaking people converted to Christianity when they were very young, and the tendency is for their children and grandchildren to be Christians, too. However, in the same way that the Westernised upper-class Peranakan is a fairly small elite, even nowadays Chinese Christians do not form more than 10 to 15% of the Chinese population (cf. Jones 1976:25).

As mentioned earlier (Section 5.2.1.1), what prompted the Dutch to finally acquiesce and provide formal education for the Chinese was the rise of the *Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan* schools. As a matter of fact, it could have been that Phoa Keng Hek intended to provoke the Dutch to provide the Chinese with Dutch-medium education when he chose Mandarin as the medium of instruction at the *Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan* schools (Williams 1960:139). The Dutch government was alarmed at the prospect of having a politically aware, China-oriented Chinese population in their colony. As early as 1905, the Council of the Indies (*Raad van Indië*) suggested that schools for the Chinese be run along Dutch lines. In 1907, Minister of Colonies D. Fock stated that the question of formal education for the Chinese was deemed urgent, and a year later the first Dutch-Chinese School was opened in Batavia, to be followed by more in other cities (Suryadinata 1972:54). A few years later the European Primary Schools (*Europese Lagere Scholen*) were finally opened to non-Europeans, and the Dutch-Chinese Schools were linked to the secondary schools (the *Hogere Burgerscholen*) (Suryadinata 1972:55).

The Dutch-medium schools turned out to be very popular among the Peranakan. Gradually, more and more students left the *Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan* schools, partly because their kind of education was viewed only practical for life in China, whereas the Peranakan were more or less content to live in the Indies, and partly because the higher quality of Dutch-medium education proved to be a key to upward mobility in the Dutch-dominated colonial society. Since Dutch-Chinese Schools entrance requirements were harder than the *Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan* schools and the tuition fees higher, there gradually developed a Dutch-speaking upper-class Peranakan, and a non-Dutch-speaking lower-class Peranakan. At the same time, there slowly formed a separate, China-oriented, anti-Dutch Totok community, so that by the 1930s the cleavage became obvious (cf. Suryadinata 1972:55ff).

Dutch quickly became the new language of literacy for the upper-class Peranakan although, curiously enough, no literary production in Dutch ever took place the way it did in Malay. By the 1920s Dutch also became an elite language for the indigenous aristocracy. It had become "an in-group code", especially when the topics of conversation concerned education and learning in general (cf. inter alia Errington 1981:171). In the 1930s, people like Nieuwenhuis (1930) promoted the use of Dutch as a key to aid the indigenes to develop their future and to help the Dutch preserve their past (Slametmuljana 1959:7).

It thus became fashionable and prestigious to speak Dutch in the family and among close acquaintances in elite circles, both Chinese and indigenous. This went on until the Japanese occupation of the archipelago in 1942, when the use of Dutch was banned. Suddenly it became fatally dangerous to speak Dutch and Dutch education came to an abrupt halt. Two days after the Japanese surrendered to the Allied forces on 15 August 1945, Indonesia declared independence, and the next day the '45 Constitution was ratified by the Committee for the Preparation of Indonesian Independence (*Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia*), stipulating among other things that Indonesian was to be the national language. The Dutch colonial government tried to return soon afterwards, however, and set up the *Nederlands-Indische Civiele Administratie* (Netherlands Indies Civil Administration



[NICA]) in different parts of the archipelago. Dutch-medium education resumed for a while in NICA-controlled enclaves, but it apparently never reached pre-1942 proportions. However, the influence of Dutch on the languages of the archipelago, especially when it concerns education and learning, had been pervasive. Also, as we shall see below, the use of Dutch as a code and the use of Dutch forms in speaking other codes by the upper-class Peranakan as well as the indigenous elites, has persisted, although the generation born and educated after independence is very much different. Nevertheless, Dutch has been gradually declining since the 1940s, even though the use of Dutch as such has never been banned by the Indonesian government in the way that Mandarin has been from 1966 onwards. The last Dutch-educated generation will pass away in at the most another 20 years or so, and what would be left is probably the nostalgia of a bygone colonial era. It is curious how despite the animosity towards the Dutch in the past, it is acceptable to feel nostalgic about life under colonialism in the form of shows and performances labelled *Tempo Doeloe* 'The (Good) Old Times'. A similar sort of China nostalgia is definitely out of the question, at least for now, in the case of Mandarin.

We have seen in the history of Dutch in the Chinese community, then, how the language of education has influenced the sociolinguistic makeup of the community. We saw earlier (Section 4.3.1.3) how Malay became the language of literacy in the 19th century, and later on Mandarin and finally Dutch became the language of literacy, although in the case of the latter two languages, they came to signify different class and subethnic identities.

### 5.3.2 Use of Dutch as a code

#### 5.3.2.1 Use of spoken Dutch

In present-day Pasuruan there are still a handful of elite Peranakan families who speak Dutch among themselves. These are the descendants of the Chinese officers, of the once extremely wealthy sugar magnates, and people who received university education in Dutch who have come to town to work at various high white-collar positions. Although these people also speak Javanese to lower-class Javanese and Malay/Indonesian to other people who do not understand Dutch, they do not usually speak Dutch with interference from Malay/Indonesian or speak Malay/Indonesian with Dutch borrowings in the way some not so educated upper-class Peranakan do.

The upper elite Peranakan generally speak Dutch to these not so educated Peranakan, and the latter always try to respond in Dutch also, without interference from Malay/Indonesian, and in most cases they manage to do so. The following example is part of a ten-minute-or-so conversation between a wealthy upper-class Peranakan woman in her 60s and an upper-class Peranakan man of about the same age. The woman has had university education in Dutch and speaks Dutch in the family, but the man only went through about nine years of Dutch-medium education, and only uses Dutch from time to time, although he reads Dutch popular magazines and so on regularly. The woman has been admiring the man's new car, and seems to be thinking of getting a similar model herself.

- (9) Woman: ù óótó is whèl móói, hóór. én whavóór kløøren hèben ze et?  
 (uw auto is wel mooi, hoor. in watvoor kleuren hebben ze 't?)  
*/your-respectful car is well beautiful, you-know. in what-kind  
 colours have they it/  
 You've got a beautiful car there, you know. What colours do they  
 come in?*

Man: ék whéét et nit presis, mæær ék xelóóf ü kònt et in whét, xrèys,  
bræen èn whèynróót krèyxen.  
(ik weet 't niet precies, maar ik geloof u kunt 't in wit, grijs,  
bruin en wijnrood krijgen)  
*/I know it not precise but I believe you-respectful can it in white,  
grey, brown and wine-red obtain/  
I'm not exactly sure about it, but I think you can get it in white,  
grey, brown and burgundy.*

Both the woman and the man speak in fluent Dutch, but being more used to speaking Dutch in the family and having had more education, the woman pronounces her voiced fricatives as expected; the man pronounces them as voiceless fricatives. In other words, as is the rule among the upper elite, she speaks flawless Dutch (except for the /-en/ ending, which in standard Dutch is pronounced /-e/). As can be expected from a not-so-educated upper-class Peranakan of his age, however, the man speaks a slightly less perfect Dutch. Peranakan like him never attained a very high degree of Dutch-medium education; most of them barely finished primary school or secondary school when the Japanese invaded. Also, they are usually the first generation to have acquired Dutch-medium education, so that for them the custom of speaking Dutch at home had not gone on as long as in the elite families, who had obtained Dutch-medium education as early as the late 19th century and had thus used Dutch in the family for a very long time.

There are also those who speak Dutch with heavy interference from Malay/Indonesian. As a matter of fact, it is not so simple to decide if these people speak Dutch with Malay/Indonesian interference or the other way around. When asked what language they were speaking, most of them would at first say they were speaking Dutch (/omong blanda/ or /omong holans/ to talk Dutch). Sometimes they did concede that they spoke Dutch with an admixture from Malay/Indonesian (/omong blanda [holans] campór mlayu/ to talk Dutch mixed with Malay or /omong blanda [holans] campór éndónésya/ to talk Dutch mixed with Indonesian). To give an idea what speaking Dutch with Malay/Indonesian interference is like, let me cite an example from the conversation of two upper-class Peranakan women, both in their mid-50s, who had only a few years of elementary education in Dutch and whose parents did not get much education, either. The first woman (A) is telling the second woman (B) about the Dutch lending library that she has been a member of for quite a while.

- (10) A: yhe huf nit sèlef dæarnæartu, lhó.  
(jij hoeft niet zelf daar naar toe, ....)  
*/you-singular-familiar need not self there go to, you-know/  
You don't need to go there yourself, you know.*  
imant komt met de niuwe aflééfering, terós séng de owe di=ambéq.  
(iemand komt met de nieuwe aflevering, ... de oude ....)  
*/someone comes with the new delivery, continue relative-clause-marker  
the old passive-marker=take/  
Someone comes with the new batch, and picks up the old ones.*
- B: yha ènaq nèq gitu, yha.  
*/yes convenient if so, yes/  
That's convenient, isn't it?*  
mesxin sal ék probééren, cobaq=cobaq en mæant éerst, gitu.  
(misschien zal ik proberen, ... een maand eerst, ....)  
*/perhaps shall I try, try=try a month first, so/  
Perhaps I should try [being a member, say] a month or so at first.*

Note that A uses the Javanese or Malay/Indonesian interjection /lhó/ *you know* at the end of her first Dutch sentence. She also pronounces her /d/ in the Javanese way, and so does B. Both women, like the man in (9), devoice the Dutch voiced fricatives. In her second sentence, A uses the word /terós/ *continue, then* and the passive construction /di-ambéq/ *to be taken*. In fact, the syntax of the second clause is Javanese syntax. Note also that B's first sentence is completely in East Java Malay. The second sentence, however, starts with the first clause in Dutch syntax, but the second one again is in Javanese or Malay/Indonesian syntax. Although it does contain the Dutch forms /en mæxnt éérest/ (*a month first*), even this phrase is constructed with a Javanese or Malay/Indonesian syntactic structure. The East Java Malay equivalent, for example, would be /saq-bulan diséq/ (*one-month first*).

Interestingly, the upper-class Peranakan informants consistently never reported speaking Malay/Indonesian with a Dutch admixture, which reminds us of the self-reporting of the Totok in the case of Mandarin, namely that they tended to report speaking Mandarin with an admixture from Javanese or Malay/Indonesian instead of the other way around. It seems, then, that these people would like to think they speak a prestigious code, in such a way that however much admixture there is from other not so prestigious codes, they do not seem to realise it. They are also very self-conscious about the use of Dutch, in the sense that they always detect the slightest mistake in pronunciation or grammar in the usage of people who did not have very much Dutch-medium education, although it is not at all unusual for them to make mistakes themselves. When the not-so-elite Peranakan speak to the upper elite, they try hard to keep the conversation going in full Dutch, without any interference from Malay/Indonesian. This supports the argument that the Totok community is not so class-conscious as the Peranakan. Totok never use the criterion of proficiency in Mandarin to judge one's class background in the way upper-class Peranakan judge lower-class Peranakan.

Let us now look at how Dutch borrowings are used alongside Malay/Indonesian by the not-so-educated Peranakan. In the following conversation, an elderly woman in her 70s who only had a few years of primary education in Dutch (A), her daughter, who had slightly more primary education in Dutch (B), and her grandson, who has had an all-Indonesian education (C), have been talking about this and that, and are finally talking about one of their shop-assistants who has just quit her job to work in Sumatra.<sup>22</sup>

(11) C: kerja apa itu ngéq sana?

/work what that in there/

What will she be doing over there?

B: yha als mèyt, yha=nan.

(... als meid, ...)

/yes as maidservant, yes=topicalisation-helper/

[She'll] also [be working] as a servant [there].

A: yha rumah tangga, hæshowtster.

(... huishoudster)

/yes house ladder, housekeeper/

Well, [she'll be doing] household chores, [as a] housekeeper.

saq=betul=é yha mau nèq tin mil aé, nèq kerja hæshowtster.

(... tien mille ... huishoudster)

/one=true=nominaliser yes want if ten thousand, if for housekeeper/

Actually, [people would be more than] willing [to pay] ten thousand [rupiah a month to have a] housekeeper.

Note first of all that although C asked his question in neutral East Java Malay, his mother replies in neutral East Java Malay with Dutch admixture. In general one can say that the post-independence generation, through exposure to the use of Dutch admixture in the family, do understand a considerable degree of Dutch. Moreover, the use of the Dutch admixture is in itself not of a practical nature: there exist in the Malay/Indonesian vocabulary of the two women above words to refer to servants (/babu/, /pembantu/) and housekeepers (/pengurós rumah tangga/). As such, one can infer that the use of Dutch admixture serves the function of an in-group symbol for the upper-class Peranakan who have not had enough Dutch education to be fully proficient in the language.

Similar to the use of Hokkien and Mandarin numerals, Dutch is used as a secret code by those who speak it in the midst of non-Dutch-speaking bystanders. During one of my observations, for example, a Peranakan woman store-owner is in her store dealing with her numerous customers. One of them, the wife of an army non-commissioned officer, a Javanese, is paying her debts and is about to retrieve the jewellery she used as collateral. The store-owner's husband is not sure how many pieces of jewellery the Javanese woman left at the store, so he sort of fumbles in the safe, which is in another room, and as the store-owner is getting impatient, she shouts to him:

- (12) aléén één koq, fan hæər.  
 (alleen een ..., van haar.)  
 /only one argumentative-particle, of her/  
 [We] only [have] one of hers, you know.

Later I asked the woman why she shouted using the Dutch forms (or in her terms, why she spoke Dutch), and she replied that she did not want to disclose the store's secrets, and at the same time she did not want to embarrass the Javanese woman, either. There are of course occasions when the bystander turns out to know Dutch, too, which could create an embarrassing situation. Dutch-speaking parents often use Dutch when not wanting their children to know what is being talked about. Some of the children resent this practice, but others said that that way they managed to learn a little bit of Dutch despite their all-Indonesian education at school. It is interesting to note that Mandarin does not seem to be used in this way towards children; in fact, as we saw earlier, parents very much want their children to master the language.

Dutch is also used by upper-class Peranakan in speaking to upper-class indigenes who also underwent Dutch-medium education. Many of my informants, both Chinese and non-Chinese, mentioned how there is a sort of old-boy network among themselves, and that relations between the Chinese and the indigenes of the upper strata of society seem to be just fine. Time and again I observed upper-class Peranakan speak Dutch (with or without Malay/Indonesian interference) or Malay/Indonesian with Dutch borrowings in interactions with upper-class indigenes who were also Dutch-educated. To cite one example, the following is part of a conversation between a retired highschool principal, in his early 60s and educated in a Dutch normal school, and a Peranakan store-owner of about the same age who went as far as junior highschool.

- (13) Peranakan: whélt ü en kæərce mèt et kadóóce, paq?  
 (wilt u een kaartje met 't cadeautje, ...?)  
 /will you-respectful a little-card with the little-present,  
 father/  
 Would you like a card with the present, sir?

Javanese: óó, xræx.  
 (o, graag.)  
*/oh, gladly/*  
*Yes, please.*

In a way this can be seen as one of the indications that relations between upper-class Chinese and indigenes tend to be just fine. Since, especially in the past, they have all benefited from the system, and having gone through similar educational experiences, sometimes at the same schools (after elementary school), they tend to form close friendships, believe in the same values and so forth.

In general it is safe to generalise that the families that use Dutch at home are Western-oriented, though not necessarily Dutch-oriented these days. At one time, perhaps as late as the early 1960s, the Netherlands might have been a land of promise for these families, but while some had actually emigrated, most have no illusions about ever moving to the Netherlands. However, these people are the most Westernised of Indonesians, although as we shall later see when discussing the function of English (Section 5.4), the Westernisation is reflected in the use of Dutch and forms of Dutch provenience instead of in the use of English and forms of English provenience which is prevalent among many non-Chinese urbanites in Indonesia today. In that way, the elderly upper-class Peranakan seem to cling to their past.

### 5.3.2.2 Use of written Dutch

Dutch is a language of literacy for those who received Dutch education and a few people who learned it from them. Indeed, many informants proudly talked about their fathers or mothers who learned Dutch on their own, without ever going to a Dutch-medium school. It is of course understandable given the power the Dutch colonial government once had. Although some people may speak Dutch with heavy Malay/Indonesian interference, or can only use Dutch borrowings here and there, when it comes to reading and writing Dutch, many of the same people seem to have no difficulty whatsoever. Correspondence between these people is always in Dutch, and from the letters that I was allowed to read, it was easy to judge that they wrote fairly good Dutch, although it sounded rather quaint and at times pedantic.

They also read Dutch magazines (sometimes a few years old) and books (mostly from before the Japanese occupation, read over and over again) avidly. There is even a sort of reading circle (*leeskring* or *leestrommel*) in town, in which members (the number seems to be limited to 12 only) can borrow a collection of five or six Dutch magazines and one or two Indonesian magazines for a week by paying a small fee to the coordinator, a retired Peranakan schoolteacher who used to teach in Dutch- and Indonesian-medium primary schools. She receives the magazines by surface mail from a foundation in the Netherlands, the Van Deventer-Maasstichting, that provides Dutch reading materials to similar reading circles in different parts of Indonesia.

It is interesting to note that of the 12 members of the circle, only one is non-Chinese, and of the 11 Chinese members, all are Peranakan. The magazines are read by all members of the family, so that even some younger people from the post-independence generation nonetheless have exposure to Dutch reading materials. The man who picks up the old magazines and delivers a new batch is a Dutch-speaking impoverished Peranakan. In fact, there are still a number of families in Pasuruan who speak Dutch among each other and are fairly Westernised, but who

became poor, especially as a result of the Great Depression, which affected the Peranakan community rather severely (cf. Lombard-Salmon 1972). Thus, the use of Dutch nowadays must be linked to their affluence in the past, which enabled them to afford Dutch-medium education. These impoverished Peranakan cannot, strictly speaking, be categorised as lower-class Peranakan, since their perceptions and values tend to be more similar to the upper-class Peranakan. Although class may be an important determining factor in the Peranakan community, a synchronic observation only reveals part of the picture; what is needed is a diachronic observation to explain their past and how they have evolved with every turning point in the history of the Chinese minority.

### 5.3.2.3 Attitudes towards the use of Dutch

What is interesting is the reaction of non-Dutch-speaking bystanders to the use of Dutch in a crowd where the Dutch-speaking people can clearly be heard. People usually stare at the Peranakan, although they do not seem to dislike the practice. They just stare in the way people in Java and other parts of Indonesia stare when there is something strange or foreign going on. It is even more interesting to note that people who do not understand Chinese dialects do not usually stare in this way. Perhaps they hear Chinese dialects spoken more often than Dutch nowadays.

The Totok literally hate the use of Dutch by the upper-class Peranakan. The reaction seems to be even stronger than the Peranakan reaction to the loudness with which Chinese dialects are spoken, perhaps because the latter still feel that the Chinese dialects are somehow the language of some of their ancestors. Totok informants explained their hatred in terms of what they perceived as Peranakan obsequiousness to a foreign power. More importantly, since as we saw earlier (Section 5.1.2.2) the upper-class Peranakan look at Totok as people who speak loud (i.e. low class), and since they know that Totok respond by calling them "traitors" and "collaborators", it is all the more reason for the upper-class Peranakan to stress that speaking Dutch equals class and being civilised, but not "non-Chinese". Especially now that Mandarin has been banned, Dutch has become all the more useful for "keeping the Totok down" in terms of class. Thus, actually the reason the Totok hate the use of Dutch is not mainly because they do not understand it, but because they know it is a class "put-down". This attitude has been shown by Totok ever since the Totok community first formed, apparently (cf. Section 2.2.3.4 on this and other Totok-Peranakan differences in colonial times).

### 5.3.3 Dutch forms as identity markers

As we saw earlier, some upper-class Peranakan can only use Dutch forms in speaking Malay/Indonesian. This is especially true when we look at the language behaviour of the post-independence generation, most of whom speak Malay/Indonesian, and yet show traces of their parents' Dutch-medium education. The use of Dutch forms is discussed below, with these people in mind more than their parents who, as we saw earlier, try to use Dutch as much as possible and, especially when speaking to the upper elite, often manage to do so.

The discussion begins with the use of Dutch phonemes, and proceeds by discussing names; kinship terms; pronouns, pronominals and terms of address; terms for certain things, concepts and institutions, especially pertaining to modern technology and education and learning in general; and numerals.

### 5.3.3.1 Phonemes

Upper-class Peranakan have in their phonemic inventory certain phonemes that were originally borrowed from Dutch (cf. Section 3.3.2.1), which are used when pronouncing Dutch forms. The use of these phonemes identifies the speaker as an upper-class Peranakan, or, in very rare cases, as someone who has had a great deal of contact with the former. Thus, when one hears someone say /lóxika/ *logic* instead of /lógika/, one can be sure that s/he is from a Dutch-educated upper-class family. Not only upper-class Peranakan Chinese, but members of other ethnic groups from the Dutch-educated upper class pronounce such Dutch borrowings with /x/. In fact, what is interesting about Dutch-medium education from a linguistic point of view is the fact that it introduced new phonemes into the Malay/Indonesian of these people. Thus, many upper-class Peranakan of the post-independence generation still say /énsiñøør/ *engineer* instead of the standard Indonesian /énsiñór/. Most of them manage to switch to the standard pronunciation when not in a Dutch-educated circle; this is another point that supports the argument that Dutch and forms of Dutch provenience serve the function of an in-group symbol for the upper-class Peranakan as well as other upper-class people who benefited from Dutch colonial rule in the past.

However, it is somewhat strange that the upper-class Peranakan, except the upper elite, never went all the way in imitating Dutch pronunciation. Only a very few elite families manage to do so, and the not-so-elite Peranakan tend to think it ridiculous for them to try to sound like native Dutch speakers. Informants argued that they are in no way Dutch, and that this already started when they were still in school: they viewed themselves as Chinese, not Dutch, so they never tried to speak with a native-speaker-like pronunciation.

### 5.3.3.2 Names

Many upper-class Peranakan have Dutch given names, which they use mostly in the family and among close acquaintances, although some people, especially after the name-change of 1967-1968, use their Dutch given names together with a Javanese family name. The Dutch diminutive, affectionate suffixes /-(e)cye/ or /-(e)ke/ (-[e]tje or -[e]ke) are also used, even with Chinese given names. We can thus find a Chinese name such as /kwan/ turned into /kwancye/ *little Kwan*, or a name like /in/ turned into /ineke/ *little In*.

Dutch forms are often used to refer to categories of people. Chinese are often referred to as /syinéés/ (Chinees), or Javanese, as /yhefæns/ (Javaans). Place names are also often in Dutch, such as /bèlxye/ (België) or even /syina/ (China) *China*. Some local place-names are also rendered in Dutch, such as /blowwhæter/ (Blauwwater), a literal translation of the Javanese /bañubiru/ *blue water*, the name of a natural swimming pool near Pasuruan.

### 5.3.3.3 Kinship terms

Not many kinship terms of Dutch provenience are used when speaking Malay/Indonesian. For ego's generation, the terms /nééf/ (neef) *male cousin* and /néxt/ (nicht) *female cousin* are used. One also finds the use of /sxóónbruur/ (schoonbroer) *brother-in-law* and /sxóónsøs/ (schoonzus) *sister-in-law*. It is interesting that some people make a distinction in terms of age, using /sxóónbruucye/ (schoonbroertje) *little brother-in-law* and /sxóónsøsye/ (schoonzusje) *little sister-in-law* to refer to spouses of their younger siblings. Although the forms

are Dutch, the concepts seem to be derived from the preoccupation with age difference in Chinese or Javanese culture.

For ego's ascending generation, one finds the terms /papi/ (pappie) *daddy* and /mami/ (mammie) *mummy*. These can be shortened into /pap/ and /mam/ or /pi/ and /mi/ when used to call the person. The former pair is generally used by the pre-independence generation, and the latter pair, by the post-independence generation. The shortening of /papi/ and /mami/ into /pap/ and /mam/ follows Dutch phonematics, whereas the shortening into /pi/ and /mi/ follows Javanese or Malay/Indonesian phonematics. Thus, the distinction between the two ways of shortening the two terms clearly reflects the shift in orientation from the pre-independence generation (more Dutch-oriented) to the post-independence generation (more Indonesian-oriented). The terms /ópa/ (opa) and /óma/ (oma) are used to refer to grandfathers and grandmothers. Younger siblings of ego's parents are referred to as /óóm/ (oom) *uncle* and /tante/ (tante) *aunt*. It is interesting to note that in most families the older siblings are referred to by using the Hokkien terms. This seems to follow the rule that in most cases terms for ego's descending generation or for people younger than ego are not in Hokkien. In the case of /óóm/ and /tante/ the rule is extended to apply to ego's parents' siblings.

Ego's spouse's parents are referred to as /sxóónfædər/ (schoonvader) or /sxóónpa/ (schoonpa) *father-in-law* and /sxóónmuder/ (schoonmoeder) or /sxóónma/ (schoonma) *mother-in-law*.

For ego's descending generation, only the terms /nééf/ (neef) *nephew* and /néxt/ (nicht) *niece* are used.

#### 5.3.3.4 Pronouns, pronominals and terms of address

All Dutch personal pronouns are used by upper-class Peranakan when speaking Malay/Indonesian among themselves. Thus, they use /ék/ (ik) *I*, /yhé/ (jij) *you* (singular, familiar), /ü/ (U) *you* (singular, respectful), /hèy/ (hij) *he*, /sèy/ (zij) *she, they*, /whèy/ (wij) *we* and /yhéli/ (jullie) *you* (plural, familiar). In addition, one finds some people using /éke/ (ikke), i.e. *ik* with the diminutive, affectionate suffix -ke, and /di læo/ (die lui [lit. *those people*]), which are not used in standard Dutch, incidentally, and seem to have been a peculiar Indies development.

The pronouns are not only used in the nominative case, but also in the other cases as well. Thus, one finds the use of /mèyn/ (mijn) *my* and /mèy/ (mij) *me*, /yhow/ (jouw) *your* (singular, familiar), *you* (singular, familiar, as verb object), /ü/ (Uw, U) *your* (singular, formal), *you* (singular, formal, as verb object), /sèyn/ (zijn) *his* and /hèm/ (hem) *him*, /hæər/ (haar) *her*, /ons(e)/ (ons or onze) *our, us*, /yhéli/ (jullie) *your* (plural, familiar), *you* (plural, familiar, as verb object), and /hən/ (hun) *their, them*.

The titles /menéér/ (meneer, mijnheer) *Mr*, /mefrow/ (mevrouw) *Mrs* and /yhəfrow/ (juffrouw) *Miss* are used before a person's family name, and are also used as pronominals and terms of address. These are used especially when the speaker is speaking formally, or when s/he is referring to somebody that s/he respects. More informally, one uses /óóm/ *uncle* and /tante/ *aunt*, which is parallel to the use of the Hokkien terms /ncéq/ *father's younger brother* and /ncim/ *father's younger brother's wife* or /mpèq/ *parent's older brother* and /waq/ *parent's older sister or older brother's wife* discussed earlier (Section 5.1.3.2). The difference in usage is not determined so much by who the speaker is as by whether the person the terms are used to address or refer to is Westernised or not.



Some other kinship terms of Dutch provenience are in use, but, again, with semantic ranges differing from the Dutch but paralleling Chinese, Javanese or Malay/Indonesian. Note that men use the term /nép/ to address other men one generation down. This term is derived from Dutch (neef) *nephew*, *cousin*, and can be followed by the person's name. It is used in the same way as women use the East Java Malay /cucuq/ or /cuq/ (lit. *grandchild*) to other women one generation down (cf. Section 4.3.4.4). Non-Catholic Christians use /bruur/ (broer) *brother* and /søs/ (zus) *sister* to address fellow members of their congregation who are of the same generation. These can be followed by the person's name.

### 5.3.3.5 Terms for certain things, concepts and institutions

Various things, concepts and institutions, especially those about which people learned at school, are referred to by using terms of Dutch provenience. For example, Dutch terms are almost always used by upper-class Peranakan to refer to days of the week and months. Thus, it is not unusual for an upper-class Peranakan to be speaking Malay/Indonesian and use /songax/ (Zondag) to refer to *Sunday*, or /owxestøs/ (Augustus) to refer to *August*.

In connection with the spread of what used to be Dutch-medium Christianity among upper-class Peranakan, many Dutch words having to do with rituals and so on are used by these people, especially the older generation. Thus, one finds the use of words such as /hüüelek/ (huwelijk) *marriage*, /bræloft/ (bruiloft) *wedding*, /xesxèyen/ (gescheiden) *divorced*, /óferlééyen/ (overleden) *died*, and others. Also used are Dutch words such as /héémel/ (hemel) *heaven*, /kèrstmis/ (kerstmis) *Christmas*, /mis/ (mis) *mass*, /bèyxelóófex/ (bijgeloofig) *superstitious*, /fróóm/ (vroom) *pious* and of course the word /xot/ (God) *God* itself and the pronunciation of the name /yhéésøs/ (Jezus) *Jesus*.

Dutch terms are also used to refer to things having to do with health and diseases, such as /ænfal/ (aanval) *attack* (i.e. *heart attack*, etc.), /bluddrøk/ (bloeddruk) *blood pressure*, /mískram/ (miskram) *miscarriage*, and /longontstéékéng/ (longontsteking) *pneumonia*. Certain professions are referred to by using Dutch terms, such as /hæoshowtster/ (huishoudster) *housekeeper*, /énsiñør/ (ingenieur) *engineer* and /nææyster/ (naaister) *seamstress*. When someone is sent overseas to study on a scholarship, for example, s/he is said to be /ætxestüürt/ (uitgestuurd) *sent out* on a /bøørs/ (beurs) *scholarship*.

Articles of clothing and their parts are often referred to by using Dutch terms. Underwear, for example, is referred to as /bénenkléeren/ (binnenkieren). A collar is referred to as /krææx/ (kraag), and a zipper is called /rétslæténg/ (ritsluitering). Materials are often referred to by Dutch terms, too. To refer to wood, for example, many upper-class Peranakan would use /howt/ (hout), and wooden houses are referred to as /howten hæesen/ (houten huizen). They also talk about /èyser/ (ijzer) *iron* and /xowt/ (goud) *gold*, and so forth. Parts of a house are often referred to in Dutch, such as /tééxel/ (tegel) *floor-tile* and /batkæmer/ (badkamer) *bathroom*.

Since the upper-class Peranakan got into the habit of eating some Dutch food, one finds the use of many Dutch food names, such as /kææs/ (kaas) *cheese*, /syókólææde/ (chocolade) *chocolate*, /sup/ (soep) *soup*, and /knakwhorst/ (knakworst) *knockwurst*.

Since many of these upper-class Peranakan read Dutch, they use terms for things that are only found in European culture, such as fairies (/fééen/ [feeën])

and dwarfs (/kabowtercyes/ [kaboutertjes]). They know about the characters in certain tales in the Dutch rendition, such as /snéwwhécyé/ (Sneeuwwitje) *Snow White* and /dóórnróósyé/ (Doornroosje) *Sleeping Beauty*.

Products of modern technology are often referred to by using their Dutch names. Thus, an automobile is often referred to as /whæxen/ (wagen), or a vacuum cleaner, as /stofsæxer/ (stofzuiger). One could continue enumerating the other categories of Dutch terms used in the Malay/Indonesian of upper-class Peranakan, but what is important for the present work is the fact that despite its brevity (1908-1942), Dutch education managed to pervade the language usage of these people, such that 40 years after the last Peranakan pupils went to Dutch schools, one still finds Dutch forms being used profusely.

### 5.3.3.6 Numerals

Dutch numerals are used extensively for counting, referring to dates, telling time, and talking about prices. They are used in the same way Hokkien and Mandarin numerals are used, namely to exclude non-Dutch-speaking bystanders from a conversation where prices are being discussed. For example, I once observed two upper-class Peranakan women buying shrimp from an itinerant vendor, a young Javanese woman. One of the Peranakan women asked the other what she thought about the price of the shrimp, using Dutch numerals, so that the vendor had no idea what was going on until the Peranakan woman who asked the question started bargaining, this time in Javanese. Many of my younger upper-class Peranakan informants of the post-independence generation thought that this practice was really impolite. They firmly stated their opinion that one should always try to speak a language that everybody around him/her understands.

It is not unusual for the not-so-educated upper-class Peranakan to use Dutch numerals and those of Hokkien provenience in the same conversation in the same way the Totok shift between Hokkien and Mandarin numerals. Again, there seems to be no rhyme nor reason to this shifting. The only situation where the shifting does not occur is of course when the Peranakan are speaking to a lower-class Peranakan or a Totok (who does not understand Dutch to begin with) or to an elite upper-class Peranakan, to whom they try to speak Dutch consistently.

## 5.4 THE FUNCTION OF ENGLISH

### 5.4.1 A historical perspective

The 19th-century British interregnum (1811-1816) was too brief to leave any significant marks on the sociolinguistic makeup of the Indies Chinese. English only became an interesting issue in 1901, when the first *Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan* school chose English as the foreign language to be taught. It was chosen because the pioneers considered it necessary for modern advanced education in China, Singapore and many Western countries. Also, English was the commercial language of the East at the time. In addition, it seemed that the pioneers of the *Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan* schools opted for English deliberately to irritate the Dutch colonial government by boycotting Dutch altogether to show dissatisfaction at how the Dutch had neglected education for the Chinese. This was perhaps also aimed as a bargaining point to gain educational subsidies from the government.

A few months after the opening of the first modern Chinese schools, a graduate of an American university, Li Denghui 李登輝 opened an English school,

curiously known as the Yale Institute (Williams 1960:71). It is not known how long the school lasted, but at any rate English never had the impact that Dutch did on the sociolinguistic makeup of the Chinese community.

#### 5.4.2 English nowadays

The English language is seen by the more affluent Chinese today as a key to advanced education outside of Indonesia. Many Chinese believe that they are being discriminated against when it comes to obtaining higher education in Indonesia. Many informants showed their displeasure at the fact that only ten per cent of all Chinese applicants to state universities are actually admitted. Thus, many affluent families make sure their children learn English so that they can go to university in an English-speaking country. Some do not even bother to apply for admission to an Indonesian university. As it happens, this overseas education is very rarely seen as an escape from unfavourable conditions in Indonesia. I had the opportunity of interviewing some of these students in Pasuruan, and even those who are Totok responded confidently that they wanted to come back to Indonesia and live there.

Nevertheless, these English-educated elites only form a tiny fraction of the Chinese community, and at least nowadays, one does not notice any observable impact on the language behaviour of the Chinese in Pasuruan. But then again Pasuruan is an economic backwater nowadays, and as such unlike other more affluent towns, where perhaps the number of English-educated young Chinese is much larger. In fact, it is remarkable that the elderly upper-class Peranakan stick to using Dutch or Dutch forms, and very rarely borrow English forms for educated terms, when the rest of educated Indonesia has borrowed so many English terms.<sup>23</sup>

### 5.5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter we have looked into the "foreign" part of the linguistic repertoire of the Chinese community, namely Chinese dialects, represented by Hokkien and Mandarin, Dutch and, only briefly, English. The use of these codes reflects the history of immigration (in the case of Hokkien and other regional dialects of Chinese) and of different educational opportunities and aspirations in the community. It also reflects the cosmopolitan outlook of the greater part of the community, either to a Chinese-speaking entity (although not necessarily the Chinese mainland or even Taiwan) or to the Western world.

In the case of these "foreign" codes, we have seen the different language policies that shape the community as it is today. We first saw the rise of China-oriented nationalism at the turn of the century, when the medium was Mandarin. Although initially both Peranakan and Totok were part of this movement, the former was soon co-opted by the Dutch colonial masters when they opened the Dutch-Chinese schools, so that the Mandarin-medium schools tended to be dominated by Totok. We then saw the banning of Dutch by the Japanese in 1942 and the decline of Dutch-medium education after Indonesian independence. This affected the upper-class Peranakan. Totok were harassed time and again, until in 1965 all Chinese schools were finally closed, and later in the 1970s movie billboards, printed matter and videocassettes and videodiscs in Chinese were prohibited.

Hokkien or one of the other Chinese regional dialects is used by China-born immigrants and their immediate descendants, although the latter tend to speak it rather imperfectly. These immigrants and their descendants form the Totok part

of the Chinese community. Some of the second- and third-generation immigrants, i.e. those whose parents paid a deal of attention to formal education in the 1930s and later on in the 1950s and the first half of the 1960s, speak rather good Mandarin if they have had enough education in it. Otherwise they only get so far as interspersing Mandarin forms in their Javanese and Malay/Indonesian. Hokkien borrowings are used by just about all Chinese, especially in kinship terms, names, and certain traditional concepts of Chinese culture. As a matter of fact, the use of Hokkien words symbolises Chinese in-group solidarity. Mandarin forms tend to refer to things and concepts related to the modern world and education and progress in general.

Dutch is spoken fluently only by the upper elite of the Peranakan part of the community. Other upper-class Peranakan either try to speak it as best they can or just get so far as using many Dutch borrowings in their Malay/Indonesian. These loanwords, in the same way as those of Mandarin provenience, represent things and concepts related to the modern world, education and progress. In addition, they also reflect Westernisation, which is most prominent among upper-class Peranakan.

In this cosmopolitan environment it is actually the lower-class Peranakan who are left out: their linguistic repertoire, except for the Hokkien borrowings, only consists of Javanese and Malay/Indonesian.

With regard to attitudes towards the different "foreign" codes, we have seen how although the Peranakan use Hokkien borrowings themselves, they look down upon the use of Chinese dialects as loud and crass. On the other hand there are still some Peranakan who look upon Mandarin as the symbol of a kind of pan-Chinese identity. Certainly most Totok have this view. Totok, on the other hand, despise the use of Dutch by Peranakan, which they see as a class "put-down".

Finally, we looked briefly into the function of English, which is basically a key to the international world and to modern education for a very few affluent Chinese families, Totok and Peranakan. Thus, in a way it is interesting to see that finally after Mandarin and Dutch education are no longer available, the Totok and the Peranakan, at least the elite, have united in one common goal, namely education, which has always been the concern of the Chinese community for at least the past hundred years.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1. Wouter Schouten, *Aanmerkelijke voyage, gedaan door Wouter Schouten naar Oost-Indiën (1676)*, cited in Purcell 1965:399.
2. *Neu-vermehrte Ost-Indianische Reise-Beschreibung darinnen durch Deutsch und Holland nach Indien gethane Reise*, Erfurt, 1751:606.
3. Thorn 1815:245-246.
4. *Batavia in 1858*. Gorinchem, 1860:15.
5. /masaq ndaq sungkan, omong saqkeras-kerasña gitu, omong cina lagi, di depan umóm, padahal bañaq orang laén./
6. There is a reference to the use of /tng<sup>33</sup> suã<sup>55</sup>/ to mean *China* in an article about Java Chinese written in 1856 (see Boachi 1856:280). I remember the

term /*ñoñah teng swa*/ (lit. *lady of Tang mountain*) being used by Peranakan to refer to Totok women with bound feet, of which there are none still alive.

7. These two words, spelled *gooa* and *loo*, can be found in a vocabulary of Malay compiled by Sydney Parkinson, a young draughtsman in the expedition of Captain James Cook in the 18th century (Parkinson 1773:192); cf. Chapter 3, note 28.
8. The terms I have mentioned so far are but a very few of the many terms of Hokkien provenience used in speaking Javanese and Malay/Indonesian. For a fairly complete list, cf. Leo 1975, although his Hokkien terms are pronounced the way they are pronounced in Jakarta and Sundanese-speaking West Java.
9. As we shall see later, there are limitations to this shifting in the use of numerals. Peranakan who do not have many contacts with Totok do not use Mandarin numerals, and Totok do not use Dutch numerals, but otherwise the possibilities of shifts in numerals from one language to another and then to still another language are almost endless.
10. For a detailed account of these schools, cf. inter alia Suryadinata 1972, 1976.
11. Mandarin newspapers were first published in the Indies in 1909. The first three were all published in Java in that year: *Hoa Tok Po* 华铎报 in Batavia, *Djawa Kong Po* 爪哇公报 in Semarang, and *Han Boen Sin Po* 汉文新报 in Surabaya (Suryadinata 1971:2, fn.3).
12. "melarang digunakannya huruf dan bahasa Tionghoa di lapangan ekonomi, keuangan, pembukuan dagang dan telekomunikasi" (cited in Siauw 1981:364; my translation). I suspect that the use of the word Tionghoa is Siauw's, since by the time Sumitro issued the decree Cina had come to be used more and more in publications and so on.
13. cf. Suryadinata 1978b:159, fn.54.
14. Personal communication from Claudine Salmon, 9 January 1984; Mackie (1976b: 96) mentions 44,000 for East Java, as compared to 16,500 for West Java and 12,000 for Central Java (figures for the early 1960s).
15. Quotation from *Sin Po*, 18 April 1958, in Suryadinata 1978b:159, fn.54.
16. "... ada kebebasan berbicara dan menulis dalam bahasa Cina bagi WNI, memberikan kesempatan sebagai bahasa rahasia diantara kelompok mereka. Ketidaktahuan masyarakat pribumi akan bahasa Cina dan tulisan Cina, akan memudahkan salah faham dan curiga, walaupun isinya tak mengandung apa yang sekiranya merugikan. Curiga dan prasangka-prasangka yang tidak berdasar ini mudah sekali disalah gunakan oleh pihak-pihak lain atau kaum subversi yang ingin mengacaukan masyarakat Indonesia. ..." (p.184; my translation).
17. "... pelajaran bahasa Cina dan tradisi kebudayaan negeri leluhurnya akan memudahkan pancingan ketidak toleransian terhadap pola kehidupan masyarakat Indonesia" (p.184; my translation).
18. "Hilangnya pemakaian bahasa dan tulisan Cina dalam komunikasi sehari-hari baik dalam kehidupan masyarakat maupun di dalam keluarga, akan lebih cepat membudayakan pola kehidupan Indonesia ..." (p.184; my translation).
19. The so-called *Sin Po* political stream consists of Peranakan who are China-oriented. This orientation is manifested among others in the desire to be re-Sinified, with the use of Mandarin as a symbol.

20. /malu nantiq kalóq ketemu wha kyow laén, terós ndaq bisa omong kwo ü./
21. "Zoo groeide een jonge generatie Nederlanders op - met of zonder Inlandsch bloed - voor wie onze taal geen moedertaal meer was" (pp.2-3; my translation).
22. In the following examples, Dutch forms are underscored, and their standard spelling is given in parentheses afterwards.
23. cf. Salim 1977 and Smithies 1982 for a description of how English has pervaded modern Indonesian.

## Chapter 6

### CONCLUSION

We have seen how ethnic, subethnic and class identity in the Chinese community interrelate with language behaviour and attitudes. Different identities are reflected in different linguistic repertoires as well as different functions assigned to the same codes in the same repertoire. They are also reflected in the different attitudes that people show towards the different codes.

#### 6.1 CHINESE IDENTITY

The major marker of a separate Chinese ethnic identity is the use of Malay/Indonesian as a language of politeness in the community. In situations requiring politeness on the part of a speaker, s/he will invariably speak Malay/Indonesian. The case is different in the ethnic Javanese community, where in most cases *Kromo* or *Madjo* Javanese is used by a speaker to show deference towards the addressee. Although a very few Chinese are able to use the polite levels in Javanese, they only use them in speaking to ethnic Javanese, and never to fellow Chinese. Similarly, although many Javanese know how to speak Malay/Indonesian, they only do so in public and official situations, and very rarely among themselves, in private, which is when the Chinese speak it.

In informal situations and among themselves the Chinese speak the different varieties of East Java Malay, which are not used by the Javanese unless they have had frequent contacts with ethnic Chinese and are speaking to them. In similar situations most ethnic Javanese would speak in *Ngókó* Javanese or colloquial East Java Indonesian, which is slightly different from East Java Malay with respect to the Javanese forms which are borrowed. In fact, Malay/Indonesian can be regarded as the common language in the Chinese community; despite the availability of other codes in the community, for preference people would speak Malay/Indonesian to each other. Thus one could say that Javanese and forms of Javanese provenience are relegated to a secondary place in the Chinese community, to be used in situations where politeness, seriousness and calm are not especially called for.

Many Chinese, especially the Totok and lower-class Peranakan, speak *Ngókó* Javanese in the family and among intimates, but there are three significant differences in their use of Javanese compared to ethnic Javanese. Firstly, the variety of Javanese they speak is phonologically (in the case of some Totok), grammatically and lexically somewhat different from that spoken by ethnic Javanese, in the sense that one can detect influences from Malay which are not found in the variety spoken by ethnic Javanese. Secondly, as mentioned just now, only the *Ngókó* level is used by the Chinese in the community. Thirdly, inasmuch as many Chinese know how to speak *Ngókó* Javanese and actually do so, the upper-class Peranakan regard it as a code that is impolite to use in the family, and in general ethnic Chinese tend to perceive themselves as speakers of Malay/Indonesian rather than of Javanese.

Another major marker of a separate Chinese identity is the use of Hokkien or another Chinese regional dialect by first-generation, China-born immigrants and their children as well as the use of Mandarin or Dutch by those who have had sufficient education in one of the two medium languages. Equally marked is the use of loanwords from Hokkien and Mandarin or Dutch in the Javanese and Malay/Indonesian spoken by the Chinese. All Chinese use at least kinship terms of Hokkien provenience for the ascending generation, and many frequently use Hokkien numerals, terms for things and concepts associated with being Chinese, and family and given names. Those who have been educated in Mandarin and their families, even if they cannot speak the language fluently, tend to use Mandarin loanwords for a few kinship terms and terms of address and reference, numerals, and terms for things and concepts associated with the new China and progress and technology in general. A similar phenomenon can be found among those who have been educated in Dutch and their families: these people use Dutch loanwords for a few kinship terms and terms of address and reference, numerals, and terms for things and concepts having to do with being Westernised and progress and technology in general. The use of Dutch and Dutch loanwords is not limited to the Westernised subgroup of the Chinese community, however. They are also used by other upper-class Indonesians who have benefited from Dutch-medium education in the past.

## 6.2 PERANAKAN AND TOTOK IDENTITY

The Peranakan and Totok linguistic repertoires in many ways coincide when it comes to the use of Javanese and Malay/Indonesian, the only exception being the different functions that the two codes are assigned among the upper-class Peranakan (q.v. below). However, there are a few differences: first, the Totok community still includes China-born immigrants; these people and some of their children speak Hokkien or another Chinese regional dialect among themselves; second, by virtue of the educational aspirations and orientation of the Totok community, mostly in the past but for some families also even in the present, many second- and third-generation Totok speak Mandarin among themselves or at least use Mandarin loanwords when speaking Javanese and Malay/Indonesian with each other; parallel to this, only the upper-class Peranakan benefited from Dutch-medium education before Independence; consequently, only a very few upper-class Peranakan speak Dutch at present, although many still use Dutch loanwords when speaking Javanese and Malay/Indonesian among themselves and with other upper-class Indonesians. Third, the Totok Javanese and Malay/Indonesian phonemic inventory includes variations in the dental and alveolar stops; fourth, in the Totok community class distinctions are not reflected sociolinguistically in the way they are in the Peranakan community (q.v. below), which can be perceived as reflecting the more egalitarian ethos of the Totok community.

Although some Peranakan share the Totok view of Mandarin as a symbol of a pan-Chinese identity, many others show a negative attitude towards Chinese dialects in general. Similarly, Totok despise the use of Dutch among the upper-class Peranakan because they perceive it as a class "put-down". One thing that can be perceived as reflecting the Totok community's more egalitarian ethos is the fact that competence in Mandarin is not viewed as the privilege of an elite in the way that competence in Dutch is viewed by the upper-class Peranakan.



### 6.3 CLASS IDENTITY

The upper-class Peranakan set themselves apart as a subgroup of the Chinese community by their use of East Java Malay in the family and Dutch or Dutch loanwords, something that is not done among the Totok and lower-class Peranakan. Since Malay/Indonesian has been the language of politeness and literacy since the second half of the 19th century, and since the development of that situation paralleled that of a wealthy class of Chinese officers and/or tax-farm holders, one can conclude that the use of East Java Malay in the family is a class identity marker. Similarly, since Dutch education was only available to the elite Peranakan, one can conclude that the use of Dutch or Dutch loanwords is another marker of class identity.

The upper-class Peranakan view the use of Javanese in the family among Totok and lower-class Peranakan as impolite. Similarly, they pride themselves on their competence in Dutch, which to them is a sign of being educated and civilised. They actually judge one's worth in the community by the degree of competence in Dutch.

Thus, the upper-class Peranakan view themselves as a class above both the lower-class Peranakan and the Totok. In the Totok community, no such superior attitudes can be found, again confirming the argument that the Totok are more egalitarian.

### 6.4 TRANSITIONS

We have seen that throughout its historical development, just as the Chinese community itself has undergone various changes, language use and language attitudes have also changed. The earliest Chinese immigrants seemed to have adapted rather quickly to the local indigenous people by marrying local women and by adopting the use of the latter's language. As a trading people, the immigrants and their descendants, the Peranakan, probably also used Malay, which was the trade language of the archipelago.

Up until the second half of the 19th century, the situation basically remained the same. With the advent of relatively large-scale printing of literature in Malay, and the development of a Peranakan upper class consisting of affluent Chinese officers and government monopoly holders, Malay became the language of literacy and politeness in the Peranakan community, and an informal variety developed for use in the upper-class homes. The lower-class Peranakan, however, have continued using Javanese as their home language up until the present.

The immigrants who started coming towards the turn of the 20th century were different in many respects from their predecessors; most of them having started off poor, they identified more with the lower-class Peranakan and the indigenous people, such that up until now the Totok community has used Javanese as the language of the family.

Education in Hokkien was for a long time a privilege of the wealthy few in the Chinese community. Also, the Dutch colonial government did not include the Chinese when they started opening primary schools in Malay in the middle of the 18th century, although apparently a very few Chinese children were allowed to enrol now and then. Large-scale education started to become available when Dutch missionaries and retired civil servants set up private schools in Malay, where Dutch was also taught, in the second half of the 19th century.

Things remained as such until the turn of the century when an educational reform movement, using Mandarin, was launched by the local Chinese themselves, in many ways as a result of a similar reform movement in China. Alarmed at the prospect of their Chinese subjects becoming nationalists who might join hands with the indigenous nationalists, the Dutch set up Dutch-Chinese schools in 1908, winning over many Peranakan but alienating many Totok, who ended up dominating the Mandarin-medium schools. This cleavage in educational aspirations and orientations reinforced the Peranakan-Totok distinction, which is manifested in the use of Mandarin or Mandarin loanwords in the Totok community, and the use of Dutch or Dutch loanwords in the upper-class Peranakan community. The lower-class Peranakan, if they paid attention to education at all, ended up in the Malay-medium two- or three-year primary schools which were mainly intended for middle- and lower-class indigenous children. As a result, the code repertoire of the lower-class Peranakan is today the most limited.

When the Japanese invaded and occupied the Indies in 1942, Dutch schools were all closed, so for a while some Peranakan children went to Mandarin-medium schools, a limited number of which were allowed by the Japanese authorities. But this marriage of convenience did not last long, and came to an abrupt end with the independence of Indonesia. At that time most Peranakan opted for Indonesian-medium education, while most Totok still opted for Mandarin-medium education. A second marriage of convenience occurred in 1965, when this time it was the Mandarin-medium schools that were closed in the aftermath of the coup attempt blamed on the P.K.I. and Peking.

In the meantime, since Independence the Chinese have been under pressure to assimilate, at first with a choice of retaining a Chinese identity or obliterating it completely, but after 1965 definitely without the former option: Chinese are now officially expected to assimilate completely into Indonesian or the local ethnic culture. What brings up an interesting question is the fact that the Chinese community, at least linguistically, is already using Malay/Indonesian, the national language. With more and more Indonesian-medium education for both Peranakan and Totok after Independence, and especially after 1965, the Peranakan-Totok cleavage has been growing less and less marked. Also, Indonesian-educated Chinese have definitely been assimilating into the supraethnic, national Indonesian society.

When it comes to assimilating into the local ethnic group, however, things are different. Although the majority of Chinese have always used Javanese in the family and among intimates, they only use one level, namely the *Ngókó* level. Instead of the polite levels, most Chinese would use Malay/Indonesian in situations calling for politeness. Since Indonesian is the national language, as well as the language of education and progress, many educated indigenous people now also speak Indonesian in most public situations. There are already educated Javanese families who even use Indonesian in the family now, even developing an informal variety not unlike that used by the Chinese.

Thus, the following prognosis is presented: the use of Chinese regional dialects will die out with the passing of the first-generation, China-born immigrants. The use of Hokkien, Mandarin and Dutch loanwords would probably remain for a fairly long time to come. As more and more Chinese are getting better education in Indonesian, by the next generation or so Javanese as the language of the family will decrease to the point that only Javanese loanwords will still be used in a mould of Malay/Indonesian. This may also happen in many educated indigenous families.

Finally, it should be mentioned that more and more affluent Chinese families are seeking potentially better and broader educational opportunities for their

children in Western industrial countries, mostly in North America. Although a few of these families might plan to emigrate to the West, most of them intend to remain in Indonesia. Affluent indigenous families are also trying to get a similar Western education for their children if they can. Thus, one can expect to see the emergence of a more cosmopolitan highly educated elite, perhaps more liberal and tolerant as well, both in the Chinese and the non-Chinese community. There are strong reasons to expect that this new elite group would produce some of the decision makers of future Indonesia. In an Indonesia without interethnic conflicts and major upheavals, probably a convergence of educational aspirations and orientations will eventually unite Chinese and non-Chinese Indonesians.

A few obstacles could potentially slow down or thwart such a model of assimilation. The best path into the supraethnic, national Indonesian society right now seems to be through higher education. If higher education remains limited as it is now, and especially limited for ethnic Chinese, most Chinese would remain on the margins of Indonesian society. Another possibility is the rise of an ethnic awareness, the new ethnicity mentioned by Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982:5; see Section 1.2.2), in the Chinese community. The following scenario is, presumably, not impossible: as the Chinese are becoming better educated and becoming more familiar with the idea of the new ethnicity in industrial countries, and provided that the rulers of Indonesia became more liberal, the Chinese might reassert a new identity (cf. e.g. Suryadinata 1984). At the moment, though, this seems unlikely to happen. There remains however, another possibility: more interethnic conflicts, especially involving anti-Chinese violence, if there continue to be problems in the distribution of the fruits of development, especially if most retail trade remains in the hands of the Chinese as it is now.

In the major, more cosmopolitan urban centres, ties with the Overseas Chinese centres such as Singapore and Hongkong are strong, and are most likely to remain so. Singapore seems very likely to be one of the major beneficiaries of the possible change of status of Hongkong from a British Crown Colony to a part of the Chinese People's Republic in 1997. It should be interesting to watch what kind of impact the change would have on the Chinese of Indonesia. The increase in Singapore's role as an Overseas Chinese centre will probably foster the Overseas Chinese identity of many Indonesian Chinese who are part of the business world in the major urban centres. This in turn may change the course of, or hinder, the assimilation process.

## 6.5 DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study is merely a very small contribution to the understanding of the Chinese of Indonesia. Much more needs to be studied concerning the Chinese. More community studies similar to this one need to be done on language and ethnicity in other representative Indonesian towns with a sizeable Chinese population. More importantly, perhaps such studies could be placed in a larger context of studies of Chinese communities in general, specifically not only emphasising language and ethnicity, but rather the larger context of the Chinese as an integral part of their communities. Cultural differences as well as similarities in the Chinese and non-Chinese communities as well as the different Chinese communities in the archipelago are still far from satisfactorily studied.

Special emphasis needs to be placed on the study of the changing economic patterns which are emerging with the increase of indigenous enterprises or at least their encouragement on the part of the government, and on the question of conversion to Islam as a path to a complete assimilation, something that has been brought up time and again for the past seven years or so. Equally important are

studies on conversion to Christianity, which has been going on since early this century but has seemed to increase since 1965. Also, there seems to be a revival of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism, the so-called *Tri Dharma* (lit. 'three virtues'), among the increasingly affluent Totok, indicated by the renovation and construction of temples in many places in Indonesia.

Exclusively linguistic topics of study abound in Indonesia's Chinese communities. The question of how Chinese children acquire the different codes and loanwords could contribute something towards the theory of child language acquisition in a multilingual society. The varieties of Chinese dialects spoken in communities that maintain and develop their use have not been studied so far: studies on the Chinese dialects spoken in the Riau Islands, in North Sumatra, on Bangka Island, and in West Kalimantan could contribute something towards Chinese linguistics in general.

Finally, granted that the Chinese of Indonesia should assimilate, and assimilation involves the merging of cultures, any social engineering plan on the part of the authorities would be severely impaired unless a thorough understanding of the cultures is taken into account. It is hoped that this study will contribute to that understanding.

## Appendix

### SAMPLE TEXTS

#### Conversation 1: IN A DENTIST'S WAITING ROOM

A very casual conversation involving six Totok girls, all in their teens and knowing one another quite well, in a dentist's waiting room. They will be designated A,B,C,D,E and F. Halfway through the conversation an upper-class Peranakan youth comes to pick up his sister, who is still inside with the dentist. The girls speak Javanese to one another, but when one of them speaks to the Peranakan youth, whom she does not know very well, she uses informal neutral East Java Malay. The Malay utterances will be underlined.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>1. A: Iki iso sué, yha? Njalóq surat toq, jaréné.</p>  | <p>1. A: <i>This could take a long time, don't you think? She said she was only going to ask for a prescription.</i></p>  |
| <p>2. B: Jaré njaóq surat?</p>  | <p>2. B: <i>Did she say she was only going to ask for a prescription?</i></p>   |
| <p>3. A: Sampéq kókóku marani, sangkaqno nang ndi aku. Stenga songo. Mólai jam piro, stenga papat wingi. Ndaq róé ndéq njeró.</p> | <p>3. A: <i>Yesterday my brother came all the way here. He was wondering where I could be. It was already half past eight. What time did I come here, wasn't it half past three yesterday? He didn't know I was still inside.</i></p> |
| <p>4. B: [inaudible]</p>  | <p>4. B: [inaudible]</p>  |
| <p>5. A: <u>Duđuq</u>, seng ngarepé séng Jaya Rasa iku. Cin Han róh?</p>  | <p>5. A: <i>No, the one who lives in front of Jaya Rasa. Do you know Cin Han?</i></p>   |
| <p>6. B: Ó, róh.</p>  | <p>6. B: <i>Oh, I know him.</i></p>   |
| <p>7. A: Ponaqané iku.</p>  | <p>7. A: <i>Well, that's his nephew.</i></p>  |
| <p>(D removes a stool.)</p>   |   |
| <p>8. D: Timbang nyeseqi dalan. [In Indonesian, with mock seriousness] Memberi jalan yang lèbar.</p>                              | <p>8. D: <i>This is blocking the way. I am providing a wide passage.</i></p>  |
| <p>(A is showing some blouses.)</p>   |   |
| <p>9. E: Piro nèq séng ngéné iki?</p>   | <p>9. E: <i>How much would something like this cost?</i></p>  |
| <p>10. A: Ndi? [E points at the kind of material she has in mind.] San jyèn u jaréné.</p>   | <p>10. A: <i>Which one? They say it's Rp3,500.</i></p>  |

11. E: Larang, yho? Nèq iki?  
 12. A: Mbó. Tapi apiq iki modèlé, yha?

(The Peranakan youth comes in.)

13. C: Iki, iki opone dèqé?  
 14. A: Ndi?  
 (A could not continue because the youth is getting close, and it would be embarrassing to talk about him any longer.)  
 15. F: Mapak, yha?  
 16. Y: Iyha.  
 17. F: Jois?  
 18. Y: Ndéq dalem, yha? Nomer lima tadi.  
 19. F: Nomer empat dèqé tadi. Dikasio waktuné, ini.  
 20. Y: Ó, apaq?  
 21. F: Gaq pa-pa. Dikiraqno mau ngambéq surat toq.

22. Y: Ó. Sudah lama masóqé?  
 23. F: Apaq? Sudah sué masóqé?  
 [Asking A] Jam piro maeng?

24. A: Stenga limo.  
 25. Y: Sué.

(The conversation with the youth stops here. A starts a new topic.)

26. A: Kim Wha ndéq ndi?  
 27. F: Ndéq Se Swé. Ndéq nggoné anu, pinda ndéq Semót.  
 28. B: Tapi arèqé ndéq Suroboyó, to, séng lakiq?  
 29. A: Ó, wés kawén, to?

11. E: *That's expensive, isn't it? What about this one?*  
 12. A: *I don't know. But it's nicely cut, isn't it?*  
 13. C: *This one, this one who's coming, who is he?*  
 14. A: *Which one?*  
 15. F: *Are you picking someone up?*  
 16. Y: *Yeah.*  
 17. F: *Is it Jois?*  
 18. Y: *She's still inside, isn't she? She got the fifth turn.*  
 19. F: *She got the fourth turn. This friend of mine gave her her turn.*  
 20. Y: *Really? Why?*  
 21. F: *Nothing. She thought she was only going to pick up a prescription.*  
 22. Y: *I see. Has she been in long?*  
 23. F: *What did you say? Has she been in long? What time did she come in?*  
 24. A: *Half past four.*  
 25. Y: *It's been a while, then.*  
 26. A: *Where's Kim Wha these days?*  
 27. F: *In Surabaya. She lives in, where's that again, she's moved to Semut.*  
 28. B: *But her husband did live in Surabaya, didn't he?*  
 29. A: *You mean she's married already?*

## Conversation 2: TWO ENGINEERING STUDENTS

A conversation between two engineering students, A and B. Both of them come from Peranakan families, although B's family has been less Westernised. They had been close friends for a few years, and were writing a joint thesis when this was recorded at A's home. The conversation is basically in Javanese; the Malay utterances will be underlined.

1. B: Wingi aku gaq sido mlebu. Aku rodoq sungkan ambéq Jun. Dipékér, "Opo-opoan Bagyo?" Ngéntèni ndéq èmbong aku.
1. B: *I didn't go in yesterday. I didn't feel comfortable about Jun. He might think, "What the hell is Bagyo doing?" So I waited outside on the street.*
2. A: Séng nemoni Jun?
2. A: *Did Jun come out?*
3. B: Nggaq. Bosé diséq. Terós Jun metu, terósan. Metu dèqé. Pikiré Jun, "Bagyo iki, ..."
3. B: *No. First his boss came out. Then Jun did. He came out. He must have been thinking, "This Bagyo, ..."*
4. A: La opo gawéné Jun; la opo gawéné Jun?
4. A: *What was he doing; what was he doing?*
5. B: Turu. Tangi turu. Turu toq aé saqiki dèqé.
5. B: *He was asleep. He'd just gotten up. He sleeps a lot these days.*
6. A: Dijaq kerja praktèk waloté temenan dèqé iki. Onoq aé alasané.
6. A: *It's awfully hard to get him to go to field work. He always finds an excuse.*
7. B: É, critoné Kyan Lok iku rosoné, Kyan Lok iku rosoné até ngeswéq Whi. Mangkané koq dèqé iku takoqé koyoq ngónó mbéq aku.
7. B: *Say, about Kyan Lok, it seems he's going to persuade Whi. That's why he asked me in that way.*
8. A: Mosoq ah?
8. A: *Come on, that can't be true.*
9. B: Iyho. Mangkané dèqé iku paléng gencar nèq nakoqi aku iku, wong iku. Mati aku.
9. B: *Sure. That's why he's so gung-ho about asking me. I can't stand him.*
10. A: Weró teko sopo? Kyan Lok? Heh?
10. A: *Who told you? Kyan Lok? Huh?*
11. B: Teko Kyan Lok. Kyan Lok iku ndiséq perna aku katéné ngejaq dèqé, tapi onoq omané Jun iku. Yho trós mari ngónó yho mungkén ngerdèpi arèq-arèq iku.
11. B: *Yes, he did. One day I was going to take him along, but this was at Jun's house. Perhaps he made secret pacts with those guys.*
12. A: Ndaq mungkén ah. Tentu dèqé ndaq tau koq. Ndaq tau nang omané Jun koq.
12. A: *Come on, that's not possible. Certainly he doesn't know. He's never been to Jun's house, you know.*
13. B: Nggaq, pancéné ndiséq, ...
13. B: *No, that day ...*
14. A: Gaq brani bèqé.
14. A: *Maybe he doesn't have the guts to.*

15. B: Aku ndiséq éléng, dèqé iku perna taqjaq aténé nang omané Jun. Perna. Éléng aku. Pas apé nang omamu, kon gaq onoq. Mampér nang omané Jun. Nggolèqi Jun, Juné gaq onoq. Katé ngomongi ndolèqi adiqé, gaq iso ngomong. Dadi ndolèqi Jun.

16. A: Jwé Un?

17. B: He?

18. A: Jwé Un iku kyoq, ...

19. B: Ndaq, "Adéqmu ndi?"

20. A: Hmm. Gaq wani siqan kon yho?

21. B: Trós, krungu-krungu isyu-isyu teko arèq-arèq ngéné, malah eróh dèqé, óó, dèqé ngéné. Ó, ndiséq iki. Aku pernah dijaq iki.

(Suddenly it starts raining.)

22. B: Ujan iki. Deres iku gaq deres, ...

23. A: Makan sini mari, és. Paq Dafét kepetóq koen meneng aé?

24. B: Yho ndeloqno aé dèqé. Pikiré, anu, "Koq gaq la po-po ngónó." Meneng aé aku.

25. A: Dèqé dikróbóng sopo aé?

26. B: Akè iku. Kun, Lyong Mbi, Syong.

27. A: Kun Kuncoro?

28. B: Kuncoro.

29. A: Syong? Syong sopo?

30. B: Yho Syong Syongku iku.

31. A: Kon nggaq mèloq ngrungoqno pisan?

32. B: Gaq, aku daftar anu koq.

15. B: *I remember that day, I was going to take him to Jun's house. Yes, I still remember. We were going to come here, but you weren't home. So we stopped by Jun's house. We asked for him, but he wasn't home, either. We were thinking about asking for his younger sister, but we didn't have the guts to say so. So we just said we were looking for Jun.*

16. A: *Was it Jwé Un who met you?*

17. B: *Huh?*

18. A: *Jwé Un is like ...*

19. B: *No, we should've just asked, "Where's your sister?"*

20. A: *Hah. So you don't have the guts to do it yet, eh?*

21. B: *And then I heard rumours from our friends, that he's done this and that, he even knew, oh, he's so and so. This was a while ago. He once took me with him.*

22. B: *This rain. It's not really raining heavily, ...*

23. A: *Why don't we just eat here? Did Mr Dafét not say anything when he saw you today?*

24. B: *He just looked at me. Perhaps he was thinking, "Why's this guy not doing anything?" I just didn't say anything.*

25. A: *Who were the people surrounding him?*

26. B: *A lot of people. Kun, Lyong Mbi, Syong.*

27. A: *Which Kun? Kuncoro?*

28. B: *Yeah. Kuncoro.*

29. A: *And Syong? Which Syong?*

30. B: *Well, my Syong.*

31. A: *Didn't you join them and listen?*

32. B: *No, I had to go and register.*



33. A: Ramé, yho? Ó, iki wés daftar ulang, ta, koen?
34. B: Dóróng. Tanggal dlapen belas koq.
35. A: Lhó, lèq, lèq skrépsi kan wés gaq usa tèken sopo-sopo to?
36. B: Langsóng pengajaran, ngónó toq.
37. A: Ó, dadi aku njaóq kartu semester, taqtólés, terós nang Agós, mari, yho? Ditèkenno Agós?
38. B: Laq Paq Agós mau ngéq ruang penelitian, yho? Bu Liliq iki katé mlebu aé. Lha ngéq nggèné ruang óperator iku onoq Bimo. Dèqé iku gaq ngerti nèq aku iki gaq gelem, gaq gelem kètoq Bimo, gaq ngerti dèqé iku. "Man, liwat cendèlo aé mari, Man."
39. A: Umpomo kon dijaq liwat lawang ngónó, ...
40. B: Iyho. "Ayó, dileboni", jaréné. "Ayó, dimasuki ngéq ruang penelitian liwat ...." "Gaq, moh aku wés, gaq ènaq akèh dosèn, aku."
41. A: "Wés liwat jengdèlo aé mari."
42. B: Pas Bimo iku ngéq kónó, ngéq ruang óperator kónó.
43. A: Trós mboqcrito?
44. B: Gaq taqcrito. "Nèq Kyan Lok mau koq ró", jaréné. "Yoqopo, kon jaréné apé nang Trinata, yho?" "Lhó, kon diomongi sopo?" "Nggaq, ...." "Wés gaq ramé-ramé, ngónó aé." Tapi gaq iso, San.
45. A: Arèq-arèq mau ngétóng anggaran menè, yho?
46. B: Gaq.
33. A: *Were there a lot of people? So you have registered, have you?*
34. B: *No, not yet. It won't be until the eighteenth.*
35. A: *Wait a minute, if you're writing your thesis, you don't need to get anybody's signatures, right?*
36. B: *You just go straight to the registrar's, that's all.*
37. A: *Oh, so I should ask for the registration form, fill it in, then go to Agós, and I'm all set, is that it? Do I have to get Agós's signature?*
38. B: *You know, Mr Agós was in the research room, right? Mrs Liliq kept wanting to go in. And in the operator's room there was Bimo. She didn't want to see him. She didn't. So I said [to Man], "Man, let's just go through the window, Man."*
39. A: *If he had wanted you to go through the door ...*
40. B: *That's exactly what he wanted to do. "Come on, let's just go in", he said. "Let's enter the research room through ...." And I said, "No way, I don't want to, I don't feel comfortable with that many lecturers."*
41. A: *So did you say, "Why don't we go through the window?"*
42. B: *Especially when Bimo was in the operator's room.*
43. A: *So did you tell him?*
44. B: *No, I didn't. He said, "How come Kyan Lok knew. Well, how about it, they say you're going to Trinata, eh?" So I asked, "Wait a minute, who told you?" "No, ...." "No, I don't want to talk about it." But you can't keep anything a secret, San.*
45. A: *Did they calculate budgets again today?*
46. B: *No.*

47. A: Iku, Kréstian, yoqopo? Wés éntóq lóró, jaré.  
 48. B: Wés lego iku.  
 49. A: Limo mboqrèken telu toq.  
 50. B: Sumpah mari ngéné gaq gelem aku. Kon njogo ujané arèq arsitèk iku, wés mwales aku. Saqkarepé déwé iku.  
 51. A: Séng nggarai kon akè séng kenal. Ngónó yho?  
 52. B: Iyho. Lèq misalé aku ndaq kenal, .... Aku séng sungkan iku mbéq Krés, mbéq Markós toq. Laéné iku blas gaq sungkan aku, San. Soqalé opo? Laéné iku angkatan tuju sembilan kabè.  
 53. A: Katéq Lhing Lhing-é podo Santa Maria-né ndiséq, yho?  
 54. B: Lha, iku lhó. Mangkané aku sungkané ndéq situ. Ngkóq nèq misalé aku nemen-nemen, jaré, "Jangkréq, Bagyo iku gaya," ngónó.
47. A: *How's Kréstian doing? I heard he finished two already.*  
 48. B: *He must be relieved.*  
 49. A: *You only charged for three when you were doing five projects with him.*  
 50. B: *I swear I don't want to proctor the exams at the architecture school any more, I just don't want to. They just did whatever they felt like doing [during exams].*  
 51. A: *Well, that's because you know a lot of them. Isn't that so?*  
 52. B: *That's right. If I didn't know them, .... I don't feel comfortable about Krés, about Markós, just those two. The others, I don't give a damn, San. You know why? The others are from the Class of '79, all of them.*  
 53. A: *And Lhing Lhing was your school-mate at St Mary's, right?*  
 54. B: *That's it. That's why I feel uncomfortable. You know, when I'm too strict, they're going to say, "Shit, Bagyo's obnoxious", you know.*

### Conversation 3: A YOUNGER BROTHER'S FAMILY COMES TO VISIT

A conversation recorded at the home of a lower-class family who have managed to go up the social ladder. The father's younger brother comes with his family to visit. The important feature to note about the conversation is that the two brothers basically speak in Javanese, but when they speak to their children, they use neutral East Java Malay. The Malay utterances will be underlined. A is the older brother, B the younger; their children will be indicated by their initials.

1. A: [shouting to his maidservant] Jem, gelasé, Jem.  
 2. J: Yha.  
 3. B: Koq olè gendóq-gendóq ngéné, teko ndi?  
 4. A: He?
1. A: *Jem, the glasses, Jem.*  
 2. J: *Yes, sir.*  
 3. B: *How come you've got a young maidservant like this one? Where did you get her from?*  
 4. A: *Huh?*

5. B: Olèh gendóq-gendóq koyoq iki,  
...

6. A: Njombang.

7. B: Koq iso olè?

8. A: Pesen.

9. B: Mm.

10. A: Pesen makelar.

11. B: Nèq mèloq ngedoli opo gaq  
kliru?

12. A: Ndaq. Njópóq-njópóqno toq.  
Pokoq pegawé ndaq bólé nrima  
uang, ambéq ndaq bólé ngasiq  
harga.

(Brief silence. A showed his daughter's school report before, but it turned out he showed the wrong one.)

13. A: Koen ndeloq raporté ... Jois  
mau kliru. [laughter.] Raporté  
klas dua.

14. B: Mm.

15. A: [to his daughter] Mana, cobaq,  
kasiqno.

(Another brief silence.)

16. A: Aku nang Semarang iki liwat  
utara. Gaq ènaq.

17. B: Iyho, ènaqan liwat Sóló.

18. A: Pulangé liwat Sóló.

(The daughter comes with the right report.)

19. A: Ó, iki lhó, iki lhó.

20. B: Séng tas iki?

21. A: Mm. Iki séng klas tiga.

22. B: Whiyuh! Sembilan sembilan  
kabèh.

(Silence; B is reading the report.)

5. B: *You've got a young maidservant like this one, ...*

6. A: *From Jombang.*

7. B: *How come you got one?*

8. A: *We ordered one.*

9. B: *Hm.*

10. A: *We ordered through an intermediary.*

11. B: *Doesn't she make mistakes when she helps in the store?*

12. A: *No way. She only helps to get stuff. In any case, employees are not allowed to accept payment, and they're not allowed to give prices.*

13. A: *When you looked at Jois's report just now, you looked at the wrong one. That was her second-year report.*

14. B: *Hm.*

15. A: *Where is it, give it to your uncle.*

16. A: *I went to Semarang by the northern route. It was very uncomfortable.*

17. B: *Sure, it's more comfortable to go by way of Solo.*

18. A: *We did go by way of Solo on the way back.*

19. A: *Oh, here it is, here it is.*

20. B: *The recent one?*

21. A: *Hm. This one is for the third year.*

22. B: *Gosh! Straight nines.*

23. B: Sembilan, delapan. Onoq sembilan stengah. Enem aé ndaq onoq, ... nggambar. [Calling his daughter] Róósyel
24. R: Apa?
25. B: Ini, Papa rambót putié jabuti, stítíq.
26. R: Heqe.
27. B: Gwatel nèq gini, rambót putié. [Turning to A] Rambót puti iki gwatel.
28. A: (to his oldest son) Mana Jois? (Calling her himself) Jois!
29. S: Jois! Dipanggél.
30. A: Ambéqno, ambéqno ....
31. J: Apa? Kesel.
32. R: Séng gini diapaqno ini, Pa?
33. A: Séng item-item jabuti semua.
34. B: Itu lhó, séng item-item suru njabuti.
35. R: Yha puti-puti yha, yang dijabuti?
36. A: [to B's other daughter] Ayó, Pita maèn pianó, yó.
37. B: Koen akèh rambót putié?
38. A: Aku, akèh.
39. B: [to the children] Hm, anjéng itu makan jeróq. Koq lucu, yha?
40. A: Jeróq doyan.
41. B: Hm, koq lucu, yha?
42. R: Kayaq Lèsi.
43. B: Lhó, itu, jeróq dimakan anjéng.
44. R: [laughing] Koyoq Juki. Gemuq.
45. P: [to R] Sapa séng gemuq?
46. R: Lèsi.
- (Another brief silence. The children are getting tired.)
47. R: Pulangé jam piro, to, Pa?
48. B: [inaudible]

23. B: *Nine, eight. There's even a nine and a half. There's not even a six, ... one for drawing. Róósyel!*
24. R: *What is it?*
25. B: *Come here and pluck Papa's grey hairs, just a few.*
26. R: *Mhm.*
27. B: *These grey hairs are so itchy. Grey hairs are very itchy.*
28. A: *Where's Jois? Jois!*
29. S: *Jois! Daddy wants you.*
30. A: *Get me, get me ....*
31. J: *Yes? I'm tired.*
32. R: *What do I do to something like this, Pa?*
33. A: *Pluck all the black ones.*
34. B: *You heard it, your uncle told you to pluck all the black ones.*
35. R: *It's the grey ones that you pluck, isn't it?*
36. A: *Come on, Pita, play something on the piano.*
37. B: *Have you got a lot of grey hairs?*
38. A: *Me? I've got a lot.*
39. B: *Hm, that dog is eating an orange. Isn't that funny?*
40. A: *She likes oranges.*
41. B: *Hm, isn't that funny?*
42. R: *Just like Lèsi.*
43. B: *Look, the dog's eating the orange.*
44. R: *Just like Juki. She's fat.*
45. P: *Who's fat?*
46. R: *Lèsi.*
47. R: *What time are we going home, Pa?*
48. B: [inaudible]

49. A: Ó, anu, koen wingi nang Trètès?

50. B: Mang mbengi, to?

51. A: Mang mbengi. Bermalem semalem,  
módón kéné?

52. B: Heqe. Jangé mau, móléné nang  
nggèné Mbian Kok, tapi dóróng  
teko; tanggal songo.

(Róósyé finishes plucking her father's  
grey hairs; B suddenly remembers something  
from the Bible.)

53. B: Betól katané, orang ndaq bólé  
sumpah, yha, demi kepala, "Sbap  
kepalamu, karena engkow tidaq  
berkuasa untóq memutihkan sehe-  
lèy rambótmu." Mè mang betól.

49. A: *So you went to Trètès yester-  
day?*

50. B: *You mean last night?*

51. A: *Last night. So you stayed there  
one night and then came down  
here?*

52. B: *Hm. Actually I wanted to drop  
in at Mbian Kok's on the way  
home, but he hasn't come back  
yet; he'll be back on the ninth.*

53. B: *It's true what they say, one may  
not swear upon one's head, eh,  
"Because thy head, because thou  
hast no power to make even one  
hair grey." It's indeed true.*

#### Conversation 4: GETTING MERCHANDISE FOR THE STORE

A series of conversations involving an upper-class Peranakan businesswoman and the various people she deals with as she goes from wholesaler to wholesaler getting merchandise for her smaller store. The store-owners are all Totok women of various ages; the shop-assistants are all ethnic Javanese. Ethnic Javanese speakers will be indicated by a (J). The utterances are mostly in East Java Malay. Javanese utterances will be underlined. Hokkien and Mandarin loanwords will be double-underlined.

1. A: (the Peranakan woman): Dikedèr  
kenèq tèmboqé, Mbaq. Lha mosoq  
nèq dipakéq diijolno a, Mbaq.  
Ini lhó. Kemarèn mow díbeli  
orang, kemarèn, díliaq, "Lhó,  
iki koq cacat?" Saya yho ndaq  
mreksai sitoq-sitoq.

2. B(J): Kenaq tatap apa?

(The conversation becomes inaudible,  
but basically A wants to change some  
defective merchandise, and finally gets  
what she wants.)

3. A: Cariq itu lhó, Élisabèt.

4. B: Ndaq ada.

1. A: *It was displayed and touched  
the wall. Come on, you're not  
saying somebody used it and now  
I want to exchange it, are you?  
Yesterday somebody wanted to buy  
it, yesterday, and she looked at  
it, "How come this is defective?"  
Of course I hadn't checked them  
one by one.*

2. B: *What did it touch?*

3. A: *I'm looking for, you know,  
Elizabets.*

4. B: *We don't have them.*

5. A: Ndaq ada, yha? Sanflower?  
Séng blonjo ndaq ada?
6. B: Maksótna gimana?
7. A: Seperti anu ini lhó. Kèq gini  
lhó, byasa.
- (At this point the store-owner joins in the conversation.)
8. C (store-owner): Tiker, yha?
9. A: Heqe. Ndaq ada? Nèq gini ini  
brapa hargané? Tañaq toq saya.
10. B: Itu empat belas.
11. A: Pas? Ndaq kurangan titiq a?  
Cobaq liat sé, liaq toq, kløøré.
12. B: Pokoqña jual lagi, yha?
13. A: Dalemé ada dompèt semua, yha?  
Ada dompèté to, yha? Sèri ini  
brapa ini? Cobaq liat. Sèri  
ini. Byasané dlapan sembilan  
ini.
14. B: Dlapan sembilan.
15. A: Ndaq isa kurang?
16. B: Pas ini.
17. A: Mboq dikurangi sribu, dijual  
lagi.
18. B: Iyha. Itu murah sugah.
19. A: Murah? Wés, pakéq satu.
20. B: Satu?
21. A: Heqe, satu.
22. B: Ini, yha?
23. A: Ini tólóng, yha. Ini masóqno  
sini, tólóng.
24. B: Ó yha.
25. A: Liaqen, ndaq ada cacaté a?  
Saya ndaq mréksoi manèh, sugah.
5. A: *You don't have them, eh? What  
about Sunflowers? Don't you  
have the shopping-bags?*
6. B: *What do you mean?*
7. A: *Just like this whatchamacallit,  
you know. Just like these,  
ordinary ones.*
8. C: *You mean the ones made of woven  
material?*
9. A: *Hm. Don't you have them? How  
much are these? I'm only asking.*
10. B: *Those are Rp14,000 a dozen.*
11. A: *Is that a fixed price? Can't  
you lower it a bit? Let me take  
a look at them, I just want to  
take a look at the colours.*
12. B: *As long as you're going to sell  
them for retail, right?*
13. A: *They all have a wallet inside,  
don't they? They do have a  
wallet inside, don't they?  
How much is this line? Let me  
take a look at them. This line.  
These are usually Rp8,900 a  
dozen.*
14. B: *Rp8,900.*
15. A: *Can't you lower it?*
16. B: *No, this is fixed.*
17. A: *Come on, give me a Rp1,000 dis-  
count. They're for retail.*
18. B: *I know. That's cheap already.*
19. A: *It's cheap, is it? All right,  
I'll get one.*
20. B: *One?*
21. A: *Hm, one.*
22. B: *You wanted this one, right?*
23. A: *Oh, could you, could you put it  
here, please?*
24. B: *Oh, sure.*
25. A: *Check them; they're not defec-  
tive, are they? I'm not going  
to check them any more, that's  
it.*

(A goes to another store.)

26. A: Tali byasa, yha? Ñang, tali byasa ñang yaqapa modèlé?
27. D (store-owner): Tali mika, itu.
28. A: Ó, tali mika. Laén-laén modèl jugaq belón ada, yha? Séng itu, Élisabèt séng murah, dua belas stengah itu, sdah? Ada? Séng plastik byasa itu, lhó.
29. D: Ó, itu belón dateng, séng kayaq perlak itu.
30. A: Belón dateng, yha? Ñang seq u iyèn yha belón dateng?
31. D: Ñang brapa?
32. A: Ñang seq u iyèn.
33. D: Ñang pakéq pèngangan itu, yha?
34. A: Yha, pakéq pèngangan itu.
35. D: Itu yha belón dateng. Heqe. Ntiq taqcateti.
36. A: Lantas Kèli, Kèli tulang itu?
37. D: Kèli.
38. A: Séng nggo jéng itu lhó. Kèli ada pèngangané plastik.
39. D: Ini ada.
40. A: Ó, itu, yha? Dulu, dulu modèl ini apa bukan?
41. D: Yha, ini.
42. A: Yhés, itu kasiqono, itu. Warnané apa aé?
43. D: Warnaé item, soklat, mèrah bata.
44. A: Mèrah bata. Tante mintaq dua, yha?
45. D: Mintaq dua, yha?
26. A: *So you have them with a regular strap, do you? What model do you have with the regular strap?*
27. D: *The clear plastic strap, you know.*
28. A: *Oh, I see, the clear plastic strap. So you have no other models, either, do you? Do you have those Elizabeths, you know, the ones that are Rp12,500 a dozen? Do you have them yet? You know, the regular plastic ones.*
29. D: *Oh, those haven't arrived yet, the ones whose material looks like rubber sheet.*
30. A: *So they haven't arrived yet, eh? What about the ones at Rp15,000, haven't they arrived, either?*
31. D: *The ones at how much?*
32. A: *Rp15,000.*
33. D: *The ones that have handles, is it?*
34. A: *Yes, those ones.*
35. D: *Those haven't arrived, either. Hm. I'll note it down.*
36. A: *Then the Kellys, the ones with bone-like material for handles?*
37. D: *Kellys.*
38. A: *You know, the ones at Rp5,000 a dozen. The ones that have plastic handles.*
39. D: *Here they are.*
40. A: *Oh, there they are, eh? When I last got them, did I get this model or not?*
41. D: *Yes, you did, you got this model.*
42. A: *All right then, give me those. What colours do they come in?*
43. D: *They come in black, brown, rust.*
44. A: *Rust. Give me two, please.*
45. D: *Two of them, OK?*

46. A: Kasiqono anu aé. Yha ñobaq mèrah bata sama item, yha?
47. D: Mèrah bata sama item, yha?
48. A: Heqe, dua, yha? Dua, lantas ini lhó, Élisabèt ñang anu, Mé, ... Élisabèt ñang ...
49. D: Réslèténg dua itu?
50. A: Yha, ñang baq ... Ndaq, ñang blakangan ini lhó, ñang muraqan. Se wan jiq itu lhó.
51. D: Ó, se wan cyu itu, yha? Ada sóléngé itu? Heqe?
52. A: Yha, itu. Ada?
53. D: Ada. Mintaq piro, Tante?
54. A: Yha kasiqono tiga wés Tante, yha?
55. D: Témpó ari taqkasiq itu.
56. A: Heqe. Dulu kan mintaq séng itu, yha? Ndaq tau laku yhanan itu. Laku. Yha. Lakuu ... Lantas itu, ñang Tante pesen, ñang ini, munté, ada sdah barangé?
57. D: Satu dua lima. Ini kosong ini.
58. A: Ó, barangña kosong, yha?
59. D: Kemarèn, ini, kliru. Taqpékérno ada.
60. A: Heqe.
61. D: Taqliaq lagi, lhó ...
62. A: Pesen itu aé, Mé, bwat arisan, yha? Putih lima, item lima, yha? Sdah pasti diambél itu, yha, spuluh itu. Heqe. Lantas, apa lagi, yha?
46. A: *Give me, like, why don't I get one in black and another in rust.*
47. D: *One in rust and another in black, OK?*
48. A: *Yes, two altogether, right? Two, and then, these Elizabeths, you know, the Elizabeths ...*
49. D: *The ones with two zippers, right?*
50. A: *Yes, the ones that ... No, the ones I got more recently, the cheaper ones. You know, the ones at Rp47,000 a dozen.*
51. D: *Oh, I see, the ones at Rp49,000, right? The ones with the flute? Right?*
52. A: *Yes, that's it. Do you have them?*
53. D: *Yes, we do. How many do you want, Ma'am?*
54. A: *Well, why don't you give me three?*
55. D: *I gave you those ones the other day.*
56. A: *Hm. I did ask for those ones then, didn't I? I didn't expect it, but they sold well. They sold well ... And then, what about the ones I ordered, the whatchamacallit, the ones with beads, do you have them in stock yet?*
57. D: *No. 125. We don't have them in stock.*
58. A: *Oh, you don't have them, eh?*
59. D: *Yesterday, err, I made a mistake. I thought I had them.*
60. A: *Hm.*
61. D: *Then I checked again, wait a minute ...*
62. A: *Why don't I just order them, OK, for the arisan? Five in white and five in black, OK? I'll definitely take them, those ten, all right? Hm. Then, what else?*



63. D: Ini sda dicatet. Tiga tiga yang item ini, yha, Tante? Tiga tiga yang item.
64. A: Tiga tiga ... Yha, cobaq kaloq ada, mintaq satu, yha? Tuju belas-é, item ini.
65. D: Tuju belas-é belón ada.
66. A: Heqe, wés, tiga tiga dulu, satu, yha? Terós ini aé, Mé, ñang modèl ini mintaq lagi, tiga. Ini tiga, terós ini kerut, tiga. Lha.
67. D: Yang mpat lima tiga dua. Yha. (A goes to yet another store.)
68. A: Lhó koq larang? Ndaq kliru a Mé-mé? Mpat tuju lhó, byasané, Tante.
69. E (store-owner): Ó, ndaq olè itu.
70. A: Óó.
71. F(J): Seng ciliq ambéq, yha?
72. A: Ndaq, besar gini koq, Paq.
73. E: Mpat tuju itu puñaqué Daymen. Ini Élisabèt.
74. A: Éléngé Tante Élisabèt koq, séng puñaqué ruma itu.
75. F: Daymen ada, persis sunggu Daymen.
76. A: Permissi, yha?
77. E: Nèq Daymen isa ...
78. A: Ini piro, kayaq gini ini, Mé?
79. E: Daymen se seq jiq mèmangé, Daymen.
80. A: Ó, yha mungkén Daymen, yha?
81. E: Persis koq.
82. A: Yha, persis gitu. Yha ini toh, Daymen ini, toh? Ó, nèq ini se seq jiq?
63. D: *I've noted it down here. You want No.33 in black, right, Ma'am? No.33 in black.*
64. A: *No.33 ... I know, if you have them, give me one No.17, in black.*
65. D: *We don't have No.17 yet.*
66. A: *Hm, all right, give me one No.33, OK? And then, why don't we do it this way, give me three more in this model. Three of these, then three of the crinkled ones. There.*
67. D: *No.4532. All right.*
68. A: *Wait a minute, how come it's so expensive? Aren't you mistaken? They're usually Rp47,000 a dozen, you know; that's the price you give me.*
69. E: *Oh no, I can't give you that.*
70. A: *Oh, I see.*
71. F: *Are you going to get the small ones?*
72. A: *No, I would like big ones like these.*
73. E: *The ones at Rp47,000 a dozen are Diamonds. These are Elizabeths.*
74. A: *As far as I remember, the ones I have at home are Elizabeth.*
75. F: *We do have Diamonds, exactly like Diamonds.*
76. A: *Excuse me?*
77. E: *For Diamonds I could ...*
78. A: *How much are these?*
79. E: *Diamonds do come at Rp47,000 a dozen, that's right.*
80. A: *Well, maybe those are Diamonds, eh?*
81. E: *They're exactly alike, you know.*
82. A: *That's right, they're exactly those. This is it, right? These are Diamonds, right? So these are Rp47,000 a dozen?*

83. E: Nèq itu laén, Élisabèt.
84. A: Ini kløré apa aé, séng Diamon ini?
85. E: Ini u<sup>214</sup> seq iq, yha, séng dobel itu, atas itu, lebi ciliq lebi larang.
86. A: Ó, gitu, yha? Nèq ini, ini, yang ini, kløré apa aja?
87. E: Entèq, gaq onoq.
88. A: Tinggal satu? Taqambél, yha, bólé, yha?
89. E: Gaq pa-pa.
90. A: Heqe, wés ambél satu, ini tiga. Nèq ini, séng rodoq besar ini, Élisabèt ni po ini Diamon?
91. G(J): Élisabèt.
92. A: Piro ini? Kari sitoq?
93. E: Diambél orang.
94. A: Yha és, kari sitoq keja cóntó. Ntiq laén kali nèq ...
95. G: Ini lhó, Tante, ayu, Tante.
96. A: Heh? Mana?
97. G: Ini.
98. A: Élisabèt ini?
99. G: Iyha.
100. A: Piro? Ini piro, ini?
101. E: Se wan.
102. A: Se wan?
103. E: Mosoq onoq barangé ta?
104. G: Ijéq, lóró mbóh telu ...
105. A: Ngkóq rèpot jwalé.
106. G: Ngkóq angèl dodolé.
83. E: *Now those are different, those are Elizabeths.*
84. A: *What colours do these come in, these Diamonds?*
85. E: *These are Rp51,000 a dozen, OK, these double ones, the ones on top. The smaller they are the more expensive they get.*
86. A: *Oh, is that so? What about these ones, what colour do these come in?*
87. E: *I've sold out of them. I don't have any more.*
88. A: *You only have one? I can take it, can't I?*
89. E: *That's all right.*
90. A: *Hm, all right, I'll take one, then three of these. What about these slightly larger ones, are they Elizabeths or Diamonds?*
91. G: *They're Elizabeths.*
92. A: *How much are these? You only have one left?*
93. E: *They've been taken by somebody else.*
94. A: *All right then, you only have one left. Why don't I take it for a sample. Then another day when ...*
95. G: *Look at these ones, Ma'am, they're pretty, Ma'am.*
96. A: *Huh? Where?*
97. G: *Here.*
98. A: *Are these Elizabeths?*
99. G: *Yes, they are.*
100. A: *How much, how much are these?*
101. E: *Rp40,000 a dozen.*
102. A: *Rp40,000?*
103. E: *We don't have them in stock, do we?*
104. G: *We still have some, two or three, I don't know ...*
105. A: *They might be hard to sell.*
106. G: *They might be hard to sell.*

107. A: Ini aé wés.  
 108. E: Si mban.  
 109. A: Heqe. Si mban, yha?  
 110. E: Ini, gedé mau?  
 111. A: Gedé? Élisabèt to itu, yha?  
 Sama toh? Ndaq, ini lhó,  
 tañaq yang anu ...  
 112. E: Séng bludru?  
 113. A: Heqe, bludru ... Sdah, brapa  
 wangé?
107. A: *I'll just take these.*  
 108. E: *They're Rp40,000 a dozen.*  
 109. A: *Hm. Rp40,000, OK?*  
 110. E: *Do you want these big ones?*  
 111. A: *Big ones? Those are Elizabeths,  
 aren't they? They're the same,  
 aren't they? No, I was asking  
 whatchamacallit ...*  
 112. E: *The velvet ones?*  
 113. A: *Hm, the velvet ones ... All  
 right then, what's the total?*

#### Conversation 5: AT THE HAIRDRESSER'S

A conversation between an upper-class Peranakan youth and a hairdresser, a Totok woman in her mid-30s, while the former is having a haircut. The conversation is in informal neutral East Java Malay, since the two people are neighbours and know each other fairly well. However, note the different varieties they each speak. The Totok uses many more Javanese forms than the Peranakan.

1. T: Lhó, laq séq tas potong?  
 Mosoq wés saqbulan.  
 2. P: Sudah.  
 3. T: Mosoq si?  
 4. P: Rasané. Lebih bèqé.  
 5. T: Séq tas. Ngko séq pigi.  
 6. P: Iyha, waktu itu séq gi Mbali,  
 yha?  
 7. T: Iyho.  
 8. P: Ndaq tau, rambuté cepet. Ini  
 soqalé suda ketutupan lhó  
 [pointing at his ears being  
 covered with hair]. Areq-areq,  
 "Wa, sudah kuno." Tólong ntiq  
 anuqno aé ...  
 9. T: Kenaqapa?  
 10. P: Dikètoqno kópéngé.  
 11. T: Dikètoqno kópéngé, yha?  
 12. P: He. Blakangé biarno aé.
1. T: *Wait a minute, didn't you just  
 have a haircut? It can't be a  
 month already, can it?*  
 2. P: *It has been a month already.*  
 3. T: *Really?*  
 4. P: *I guess so. Perhaps even longer.*  
 5. T: *It wasn't long ago. That was  
 when my husband was away.*  
 6. P: *That's right, he was away in  
 Bali then, wasn't he?*  
 7. T: *Right.*  
 8. P: *I don't know, my hair grows so  
 fast. You see, this part is  
 already covered. My friends  
 said, "Gee, you're old-fash-  
 ioned." Could you, you know,  
 later ...*  
 9. T: *What did you say?*  
 10. P: *Let the ears show.*  
 11. T: *You want the ears to show,  
 right?*  
 12. P: *Hm. Leave the back as it is.*

13. T: Blakangé cèqé panjangé saqqini. 13. T: *Why don't we leave the back this long?*
14. P: A yha ... 14. P: *Yes, that's right ...*
15. T: Dilongi titiq aé. 15. T: *I'll just shorten it a bit.*
16. P: Dilongi saqsènti aé. Terós ... 16. P: *Just shorten it by a centimetre. And then ...*
17. T: Até dadi mantèn mari gini, yha? 17. T: *You're going to get married pretty soon, aren't you?*
18. P: Heh? 18. P: *Huh?*
19. T: Sopo séng até ... 19. T: *Then who is it who's going to ...*
20. P: Adéq. 20. P: *My younger brother.*
21. T: Adéqé ta? Ó. 21. T: *Oh, it's your brother? I see.*
22. P: Heqe. 22. P: *Hm.*
23. T: Lhó, séng mana? 23. T: *Wait a minute, which one is it?*
24. P: Séng nomer dua, séng tinggi itu lhó. 24. P: *The next to oldest, you know, the tall one.*
25. T: Óó. 25. T: *Oh, I see.*
26. P: Ndeq Se Swé. Olè arèq sana. 26. P: *He's in Surabaya now. He's getting married to a girl from there.*
27. T: Olè arèq mana? 27. T: *He's getting married to a girl from where?*
28. P: Olè arèq Surabaya. Sekolaé ndéq Jokja témpó ari. 28. P: *He's getting married to a girl from Surabaya. They went to school in Jokja before.*
29. T: Dadi mantèn. 29. T: *So they got married.*
30. P: Daq. Skola belón mari. 30. P: *No, they hadn't finished school then.*
31. T: Gaq tau rasané mukaqé adéqé. Séng mana, yha? 31. T: *I don't think I know what your younger brother looks like. Which one is it?*
32. P: Sda sué ndaq ndéq rumah. Dulu kan ndéq Surabaya; terós mari gitu skola ndeq Jokja. Staón. Yha itu terós kenalan ambéq arèq itu. Cepet kcq. Pigi Mbali bareng, taw-taw mbaléq sudah anu. Niat sudah. 32. P: *He hasn't been living at home for a while now. He lived in Surabaya before, you know; then he went to school in Jokja. He was there for a year. That was when he got to know that girl. The whole thing was quick. They went to Bali together, then all of a sudden when they came back they were already, you know ... They had already decided ...*
33. T: Lha yho. 33. T: *Oh, I see.*

34. P: Nem bulan, sudah.

35. T: Ó yho? Nem bulan langsóng wésan, yho?

36. P: Langsóng. (Asks about T's husband) Ini pigi lagi Ko Syang Cin?

37. T: Pigi, Surabaya.

38. P: Ó.

(At this point T's assistant comes in from the front part of the store. She and T speak in Mandarin.)

39. A: Ciq, cé i jóng<sup>214</sup> teq tó sow jyèn, Ciq?

40. T: Lhyang jyèn lhyang peq u.

41. A: Pu hwé jyèn, yha?

42. T: Seq cya.

43. P: Kapan, yha, terakhér potong?

44. T: He?

45. P: Ndaq, mow taqéléng-éléng kapan.

46. T: Ngko séq, séq ada Mbali itu.

47. P: Tanggal piro kira-kira?

48. T: Tanggal ... Ngko séng pigi tanggal dua lima. Mosoq séq tas brangkat a?

49. P: Dua lima Október bèqé.

50. T: Nopèmber.

51. P: Bulan anu kan barusan aé?

52. T: Désèm ... heqe. Ada ndéq sana itu piro ... saqbulan stengah.

53. P: Mm.

54. T: É, mpat pulu hari, yha? Persis. Sepi.

55. P: Ndéq sini?

56. T: Ndéq Mbali.

57. P: Ó, sepi yha? Suda ujan ndéq sana?

34. P: *They'd been seeing each other for six months.*

35. T: *Really? After six months, then they made up their minds, did they?*

36. P: *Yes, they did. Is your husband away again now?*

37. T: *Yes, he went to Surabaya.*

38. P: *I see.*

39. A: *How much does this kind cost?*

40. T: *Rp2,250.*

41. A: *We can't lower it, right?*

42. T: *That's the actual price.*

43. P: *When did I have my last haircut?*

44. T: *Huh?*

45. P: *No, I was trying to remember when I had my last haircut.*

46. T: *That was when my husband was, was in Bali.*

47. P: *What date was that approximately?*

48. T: *It was the ... He left on the twentieth-fifth. It couldn't be right after he left, could it?*

49. P: *Perhaps it was October 25.*

50. T: *November 25.*

51. P: *The month of whatchamacallit was just over, wasn't it?*

52. T: *Decem ..., that's right. He was there for how long ... a month and a half.*

53. P: *Hm.*

54. T: *Err, he was there for forty days, wasn't he? Exactly forty days. Business was slack.*

55. P: *Here?*

56. T: *No, in Bali.*

57. P: *Oh, it was slack, was it? Had it started raining there?*

58. T: Ujan sekali bèqé.  
 59. P: Nèq sido nèq ... mungkén mow gi Mbali lagi.  
 60. T: Ó yha? Aḡa apa gi Mbali?  
 61. P: Nglèncèr sangkéng.  
 62. T: Wés tau pigi, toh?  
 63. P: Skali. Nḡaq, arèq ini belón perna gi Mbali gitu, lhó. Tapi tergantóng dèqé ... E, itu Senèné kan kecepét a, tanggal dua pulu tuju itu.  
 64. T: Ó yha, yha?  
 65. P: Lha, naq dèqé diprèiqno, wani gi Mbali. Nèq nḡaq yha wés gi Pasér Puti aé, katané.  
 66. T: Óó.  
 67. P: Soqalé dèqé prèiné cumaḡ Saptu, Minggu.  
 68. T: Nanggóng, yha? Nèq mbolos umpama ...  
 69. P: Nḡaq wani dèqé.  
 70. T: Soqalé kabèh due keqinginan mbolos, kabèh.  
 71. P: Wong dèqé itu biasané Minggu aé nglembór koḡ.  
 72. T: Ó, yha?  
 73. P: Tapi dèqé taqbilangi, "Kamu ini anaq masiq muda, wés nḡaq ndablek. Jarang orang gitu itu." Paléng-paléng naèḡ bés malem.  
 74. T: Kenaqapa?  
 75. P: Naèḡ bés malem.  
 76. T: Iyha.  
 77. P: Bés malem itu nèḡ naèḡ nḡéḡ sini isa?  
 78. T: Isa.  
 79. P: Nḡéḡ tèrminál sini, yha? Nḡaq, nèḡ pesen karcésé biarno arèḡ itu pesen nḡéḡ Surabaya.
58. T: *Maybe it rained once.*  
 59. P: *If things work out, if ... maybe I'm going to Bali again.*  
 60. T: *Really? What are you going to Bali for?*  
 61. P: *Just to travel.*  
 62. T: *You've been there, haven't you?*  
 63. P: *Once. No, this guy has never been to Bali, you know. But it's all up to him ... Er, you know that Monday is between two holidays, the twenty-seventh.*  
 64. T: *That's right, isn't it?*  
 65. P: *So, if he gets a holiday that day, then it's worth while our going to Bali. Otherwise, we'll just go to Pasir Putih, that's what he said.*  
 66. T: *I see.*  
 67. P: *The thing is, he's only going to get Saturday and Sunday off.*  
 68. T: *That's not enough, is it? What if he just doesn't show up ...*  
 69. P: *No, he wouldn't have the guts to do that.*  
 70. T: *Because then everybody would want to skip the day, all of them.*  
 71. P: *He even works overtime on Sundays, you know.*  
 72. T: *Really?*  
 73. P: *But I told him, "You're still young, but you have a sense of responsibility. There aren't many like that." We'll probably be taking the night bus.*  
 74. T: *What did you say?*  
 75. P: *We'll take the night bus.*  
 76. T: *Hm.*  
 77. P: *Can you get on the night bus here?*  
 78. T: *Yes, you can.*  
 79. P: *At the terminal here, is it? No, let him book the tickets in Surabaya.*

80. T: Surabaya, to?
81. P: Heqe.
82. T: Pesené Surabaya terós naèqé sini, isa toh?
83. P: Dadi ðèqé naèq Surabaya, who naèq sini.
84. T: Isa. Tótóq sini jam sembilan bèqé. Surabaya jam tujuh.
85. P: Séq belón tau nginepé ngéq mana.
86. T: Apaqo?
87. P: Séq belón tau nginepé ngéq mana. Soqalé ada konco, tapi nèq ðèqé pigi yha sini ndaq nginep. Arèq Amérika. Nèq ndaq salah ðèqé ngontrak rumah ...
88. T: Déq mana?
89. P: Ngéq Dènpasar. Dèqé kan seréng nginep ngéq sini a, ngéq Pasuruan sini dulu. Lha, taq-, taqtagé utang. Kan ngérét a, lumayan.
90. T: Arèqé ngéq sini laqan?
91. P: Ndaq. Kapan itu, terakhér itu, séq itu lhó, séq ada batéq syó itu lhó, kapan itu? Sèp-tèmbèr itu, yha? Cyó yhéq. Lha itu, taqjaq gi sini ...
92. T: Larang lhó, ngéq Dènpasar.
93. P: Iyha.
94. T: Tana itu ngéq sawa-sawa pojoq-pojoq itu aé wés piro.
95. P: Larang ...
96. T: Ngéq Jalan Diponegoro itu ada mintaq staóné satu juta. Itu séng paléng mura itu sdanan.
80. T: *I see, so he's from Surabaya.*
81. P: *Hm.*
82. T: *You book the tickets in Surabaya, then you can get on the bus here, can't you?*
83. P: *So he gets on the bus in Surabaya, and I'll get on it here.*
84. T: *That's possible. I think the bus gets here at nine. It leaves Surabaya at seven.*
85. P: *We still don't know where we're going to stay.*
86. T: *What's that?*
87. P: *We still don't know where we're going to stay. The thing is, I have a friend there, but if she's away, then we won't be able to stay with her. She's American. If I'm not mistaken, she leases a house ...*
88. T: *Where?*
89. P: *In Denpasar. She's stayed with me here many times, you know, here in Pasuruan, before. Now I'm going to ask for a repayment. That'll save us some money, right, which is not bad.*
90. T: *So the girl is here?*
91. P: *No, she isn't. The other day, the last time she was here, you know, when there was the batik show, when was that? That was September, wasn't it? September. That was when I invited her here ...*
92. T: *Things are expensive in Denpasar, you know.*
93. P: *Yeah.*
94. T: *A piece of land near ricefields, in the corner of ricefields, is already, you know.*
95. P: *Expensive ...*
96. T: *There's a house on Jalan Diponegoro, and they're asking for Rp1,000,000 a year. And that's the cheapest you can get.*

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 97. P: Sini barusan ini ngontrak fila<br>ngéq Slèkta itu segitu setaón.                 | 97. P: <i>We just leased a villa in Selecta<br/>for that much a year.</i>   |
| 98. T: Setaón.  | 98. T: <i>A year.</i>   |
| 99. P: Empat kamar.   | 99. P: <i>It's got four bedrooms.</i>   |
| 100. T: Slèkta, yha?  | 100. T: <i>Selecta, eh?</i>   |
| 101. P: Heqe. Mbatu ...   | 101. P: <i>Hm. Batu ...</i>   |
| 102. T: Yho nèq dipékérno yho ...<br>Yho nèq dipékérno mbéq séng<br>ngéq situ yha mura. | 102. T: <i>Well, come to think of it, well<br/>... Well, come to think of it,<br/>compared to that one there,<br/>that's cheap.</i> |
| 103. P: Heqe.   | 103. P: <i>Hm.</i>  |
| 104. T: Yha?  | 104. T: <i>Isn't it?</i>  |
| 105. P: Nèq sini keja istirahat.  | 105. P: <i>We use it as a holiday house.</i>  |

#### Conversation 6: A FAMILY CHAT ON A SUNDAY AFTERNOON

A rambling conversation involving an old woman (A), her daughter (B) and grandson (C) in an upper-class Peranakan family. The family runs a store, but it is Sunday afternoon, and the store is closed. The conversation is in neutral East Java Malay with Dutch loanwords interspersed freely in the speech of the two women, who went through primary education in Dutch. Dutch forms will be underlined. Other loanwords or shifts to another code will be indicated as they occur.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. C: Mi, télpón.   | 1. C: <i>Mum, telephone.</i>  |
| 2. B: Haló. Haló. <u>Dari</u> mana ini?<br>[The phone call is from a <u>santri</u><br>woman. M speaks in polite East<br>Java Malay.] Ó, yha, yha. Ó,<br>kalóq Minggu sóré tutóp, yha.<br>Heqe. Mbésóq pagi-pagi bukaq.<br>Yha? Yha, yha, yha. | 2. B: <i>Hello. Hello. Who is this?<br/>Oh, yes, yes. Well, we're closed<br/>on Sunday afternoon. Hm. We'll<br/>be open early tomorrow morning.<br/>Yes? Yes, I know, I know.</i> |
| 3. C: Sapa?   | 3. C: <i>Who is it?</i>   |
| 4. B: Óq, Jalan Jawa, golongané anu,<br>kódóng-kódóng itu lhó.  | 4. B: <i>Oh, you know, somebody from<br/>Jalan Jawa, one of those Muslim<br/>women.</i>   |
| 5. A: <u>Dibilangi</u> tótóp yha nèq <u>daq</u> nganu<br>séq ...  | 5. A: <i>You tell them we're closed, but<br/>if you don't, you know, they<br/>still ...</i>   |
| 6. C: <u>Tadi</u> itu lhó, <u>dibilangi</u> tótóp,<br>nginceng-nginceng.  | 6. C: <i>Earlier I told these people we<br/>were closed, they kept peeping<br/>in.</i>  |
| 7. B: Ó, arèq séng anu, ñña itu, yha?<br>Itu lhó, anaqé No, No séng   | 7. B: <i>Oh, was it that girl, that lady?<br/>You know, No's daughter. No</i>   |



édóngé krówóng itu lhó. Itu seréng beli-beli sini. Sminggu skali beli rok, beli apa.

*whose nose was falling off, you know. She often comes to shop here. She comes once a week to buy a skirt, to buy this and that.*

8. A: Ó, ó.
9. C: Taqbilangi, yha sóq pagi aé.
10. B: Anuné, anaqé itu. Terós ...
11. A: Noné kan sda mati?
12. B: Mati. Lha ini séng lucu, yha, ini lhó, Ñña ... Un Lam, tau Un Lam yhé? Un Lamé kan mati? Ññaé ini koq édóngé mau gró-wóng.
13. A: Óó.
14. C: Kangker kólét itu.
15. A: Óó.
16. B: Ndaq tau kangker kólét ...
17. C: Itu kangker kólét.
18. B: Mrèmbèt gitu, yha? Sampéq ditèmbèl goðong.
19. C: Ntiq terósé, itu moro sampéq gi sini lhó, pipi, mólót ...
20. A: Terós?
21. B: Lha yha, ðari mana, ðari apa, yha, orang ini?
22. A: Awaqé ðèwèq ini ...
23. C: Kenèq itu lhó, spré barang itu lhó.
24. B: Lha orang itu wong ðaq pakéq spré. Orang kèq gitu.
25. C: Lhóh, gitu itu kenèq kabè.
26. A: Spré rambót ni?
27. C: Yha rambót, yha apa-apa, obat wangi-wangi.
28. A: Ndaq, spréné rambót itu, ta?
29. C: Kabè. Tapi ndaq langsóq spréné itu séng ngracuni ...
30. A: Heqe.

8. A: *Oh, I see.*
9. C: *Well, I just told her to come tomorrow.*
10. B: *That's his, you know, his daughter. And then ...*
11. A: *No himself is dead, isn't he?*
12. B: *He is. You know what's funny? You know Mrs ... Un Lam; do you know Un Lam? He's dead, right? For some reason his wife's nose is falling off.*
13. A: *Oh.*
14. C: *That's skin cancer.*
15. A: *Oh.*
16. B: *I don't know if it's skin cancer.*
17. C: *That is skin cancer.*
18. B: *It spreads, right? She's patching it with a leaf.*
19. C: *Later on it spreads up to here, you know, to the cheek, the mouth ...*
20. A: *It keeps spreading?*
21. B: *Gee, where can people get such a thing from?*
22. A: *People like us ...*
23. C: *That's the effect of, you know, spray and stuff, you know.*
24. B: *But that woman doesn't use any spray. Such a simple woman.*
25. C: *Wait, but everybody is affected.*
26. A: *Do you mean hair spray?*
27. C: *Well, hair spray, all kinds of things, air fresheners.*
28. A: *No, do you mean hair spray?*
29. C: *All kinds of them. But it's not the spray that directly poisons you.*
30. A: *Hm.*

31. C: Séng ngracuni tu, spréné tu kan ngilangno ósoné itu to, ndéq apa, udara ini.
32. A: Hawané.
33. C: Heqe. Dadi matahari itu, séng ultrafiólèt ni langsóng kenèq.
34. A: He.
35. C: Ndéq kólét. Lha itu ndaq baèq.
36. A: Nha, nólés lagi satu artikel. Bilang, lebi baèq, nganu ...
37. C: Itu ndéq mana-mana sudah, itu.
38. A: Semua serentaq beramé-ramé, e, itu ...
39. C: Ganti. Gitu tu séng penténg.
40. A: Ganti pengidupan baru, yang pakéq ini ini ini, gitu tuliso. Wong itu Tante Fin tu nèq makiqi nganu, wah, royalé. Nèq makéq itu lhó, fètsin.
41. C: Lha itu fètsin tu katané ada séng bilang, nggarai kangker.
42. A: Lha itu Tante Hong tu ndaq mau pakéq skarang, sué koq. Nèq orang ndèsa gitu, wong pakiqé saqdummyél. Yha arang-arang.
43. B: Séng pakéqé akè itu lhó ...
44. C: Saqdummyél-saqdummyél sué-sué ...
45. A: Séng pakéqé akè tu yha orang Tyongwha. Saqdummyél tu keja saqrómah-tangga. Nèq orang Tyongwha ...
46. B: Séng akè tu, pakéq, orang masaqan Tyongwha itu lhó.
47. A: Orang masaq-masaq itu lhó.
48. C: Yha.
49. B: Masaqan Tyongwha itu pakéqé akèh fètsiné.
50. A: Nèq orang anu tu, waa, pakéq ...
31. C: *The thing that poisons you, you know the spray takes away the ozone, you know, in what is it, the air.*
32. A: *The air.*
33. C: *Hm. So the sun, the ultraviolet rays directly affect you.*
34. A: *Um.*
35. C: *It gets on your skin. Now that's not good.*
36. A: *There, write another article. Say, it is better, to do so and so ...*
37. C: *That's been reported everywhere already.*
38. A: *Everybody should all, er, that is ...*
39. C: *Change. That's what's important.*
40. A: *Change to a new life style, by using this and this and this, write it like that. Aunt Fin, when she uses watchamacallit, boy, she uses so much of it. When she uses, you know, MSG.*
41. C: *And then there are people who say that MSG causes cancer.*
42. A: *Mrs Hong refuses to use it now, it's been a while now. As for villagers, they only use a tiny bit. They use it sparingly.*
43. B: *You know who uses a lot of it ...*
44. C: *Tiny bit by tiny bit, but gradually ...*
45. A: *Chinese use it a lot. Villagers use a tiny bit for the whole household. But the Chinese ...*
46. B: *They use it a lot in Chinese cooking, you know.*
47. A: *Those cooks, you know.*
48. C: *Yes.*
49. B: *Chinese cooking uses a lot of MSG.*
50. A: *The, you know, boy, they use ...*

51. B: Skarang kan Mami taqqanti Mègi Blok sudah. Nèq anu dikecruti Mègi lebi ènaq, skarang. Pakéq Mègi, wés, ndaq pakéq fètsin.
51. B: *Now I've changed to Maggi Cubes already. Now I find it better if you just sprinkle a little Maggi seasoning. I'd rather use Maggi than MSG.*
52. A: Dulu, jaman dulu tu, yha ada lhó, fètsin.
52. A: *In the past, in the old times, they also had MSG, you know.*
53. C: Séng blèk-blèkan biru itu, to? Ada, kejaqan Hong Kong tu.
53. C: *It's in a blue can, right? Yes, they had it made in Hong Kong.*
54. A: Kerjaqan Hong Kong itu mèmang katané, katané lhó, asli dateng anu, kembang.
54. A: *The kind that's made in Hong Kong is said, is said, mind you, to be genuinely free from what-chamacallit, from flowers.*
55. C: Dateng udang asli. Kembang apa?
55. C: *It's genuinely made from shrimp. What flower?*
56. B: [in Javanese, talking to herself] Kembang po iwaq?
56. B: *Is it flower or fish?*
57. A: Anu, stæfmeé gitu lhó. Anuné kembang, koq gitu lhó.
57. A: *You know, it's some kind of pollen. The, you know, part of a flower, they say.*
58. C: Éléng koq, dulu Mami nèq sukaq beli tu, kan ndéq blèk gitu.
58. C: *I do remember, Mum, you used to buy it, it came in a can, right?*
59. B: Blèké ada tulisané anu, itu lhó ...
59. B: *The can has, you know, something written on it, you know ...*
60. C: Fé-tsin, pancéné.
60. C: *Ve-tsin, that's it.*
61. A: Maq séq kemanténé Mami itu cumaq dlapa répés, saqlèk tu. Sampéq ntèq tiga blèk pa-pa, hèran-hèran orang kabèh. Lha wong Maq Mbun Njin itu séng ñuruh. Apa-apa suruh séng wakèh fètsiné. Sampéq hèran kabèh. Koq isa, godek-godek kabèh ntèq isa tiga blèk. Lhó, orang dulu yha sda royalé nemen. Kabèh, koki saq-Pasuruan taqborong kabèh, séq kawiné yhé. Séng Pèrot, séng Siti, séng, Mboq Tón nganu, kabèh. Tapi kabèh wés mati.
61. A: *At the time of your mum's wedding, I, it was only Rp8 a can. We used up three cans or something like that, and everybody was amazed. It was Mrs Mbun Njin who told me to do so. She told me to use a whole lot of MSG for everything. Everybody was amazed. They were shaking their heads, they couldn't understand how I could use up three whole cans. You know, by the standards of those days, that was really extravagant. I hired all Pasuruan's cooks, lock, stock and barrel, when you got married. Pèrot, Siti, Mrs Tón the what-chamacallit, all of them. But they're all dead now.*
62. C: Skarang?
62. C: *Now?*
63. B: Iyha, koki dulu tu mati kabèh.
63. B: *Yes, all those cooks from the old days are dead.*

64. A: Pèrot mati. Siti mati. Ng, [in Javanese] sopo, [back to Malay] anu, Mboq ... Dól itu mati, mboqé Saripah itu. Béq Nah mati. Mboq Tón Centél mati. [In Javanese] Sopo yho?
64. A: *Pèrot is dead. Siti is dead. Er, who is it, you know, Mrs ... Dól is dead, Saripah's mother. Mrs Nah is dead. Mrs Tón the Flirt is dead. Who else, eh?*
65. C: Itu blajar masaqé ngéq mana, yha?
65. C: *Where did they learn to cook?*
66. A: Lhó, dari orang Tyongwha.
66. A: *From the Chinese, of course.*
67. C: Ó, dèqé mèloq diséq gitu?
67. C: *Oh, so they worked for them first.*
68. B: Gendóq-gendóq gitu lhó, dèqé itu.
68. B: *They had been young maidservants, you know.*
69. A: Duluné gendóq-gendóq, swé-swé-swé-swé, ngernèt. Ngernèt-ngernèt, dadi ngoki. Podó mbéq Jiyem tu, dulu kan ngernèt. Skarang sdah pinter koki. Tapi teliti orang kuno tu. Digègèri barang mau.
69. A: *First they were maidservants, then gradually, they became apprentices. After they finished the apprenticeship, they became cooks. Just like Jiyem, she was an apprentice before, right? Now she's a good cook. But the people from those old days were meticulous. They did not resent being dressed down.*
70. B: Nèq orang skarang mosoq mau digègèri. Nèq orang skarang kan semauné aé.
70. B: *What people nowadays can accept some dressing down? They just do whatever they like.*
71. A: [In Javanese, showing annoyance] Ku nggaé ca tahu mwèrah sampèqan. Lha yho, ku kècapé ku piro? Cobaq to. Ndaq ngrèken, kècapé telóng ndino petang ndino saqbotol pasan. [Back to Malay] Nah Bica itu kan ñña anu, kaya. Masaqané kan, samben ari mesti masaq-masaq kerja orang akèh barang.
71. A: *The other day she made stir-fry tofu, and it was so red. Come on now, how much did she waste on the soy sauce? Just imagine. She didn't think, a whole bottle of soy sauce gone in three or four days. You know, Mrs Bica is a wealthy lady. Her cooking was, she had to cook for a lot of people every day and stuff.*
72. C: Pèsta barang.
72. C: *Parties and stuff.*
73. A: Dadi swé-swé-swé-swé ... Heqe, pèsta apa yharex-an apa apa. Swé-swé-swé, dèqé selot akèh, selot akèh bisa, trós pegi nggène orang mantu. Orang mantu masaq dua ratós orang, tiga ratós orang. Saqbetulé nèq Pèrot pinter nganuné. [In Javanese] Opo itu? [Back to Malay] Olèné ngasiqi bahanbahan itu harós seginisegini itu. Pas koq, dèqé. Lha Maq ini wong wés gendeng yha, taqpékér wés bóqó,
73. A: *So gradually ... Hm, banquets or birthday parties and so on. So these cooks gradually became more and more skilled, then they worked at weddings. At weddings they had to cook for two hundred people, three hundred people. Pèrot was actually good at what-chamacallit. What is it? The way she put in this much and that much ingredients. She always did it in the right amount. Well, I was so dumb,*

yha, ndaq adaq séng nggenahno. Maq Mbun Njin itu séng ngge-nahno. Wuuduh, beli bahan tu, sdah, daq karu-karuan akèé. Ngeja lumpya, wwađuh, mambu. Gagéh-gagéh ngrajang baru lagi, saqkèh-kèé, iwaqé lagi. Samben ari taqkèqno langganané Maq itu. "Mau, yha, ca?" "Mau." Taq-kèqno. Ada langganan tu lhó ...

*come to think of it I was so stupid, I had nobody to tell me about things. So Mrs Mbun Njin was in charge. My, my, we bought so much stuff, it was incredible. We made spring rolls, and horror of horrors, they went bad! So we frantically made new filling, a whole mass of it. Then every day I gave some to people who came to the store. "Do you want some stir-fried bamboo shoots?" "Sure." So I gave it to them. I had those people who came to the store ...*

(The telephone rings.)

74. B: Tampanono, bilangono tótóp.

74. B: *Answer it, would you, and tell them we're closed.*

75. C: Haló. [The caller is a retired Army officer, an ethnic Javanese. C speaks in Indonesian.] Yha? Betól. Ó, Paq Santo. Kenapa, Paq? Ó ada. Sebentar, yha, saya cariqken.

*Hello. Yes? That's right. Oh, Mr Santo. What is it, sir? Oh, we do. Just a minute, let me look for them.*

76. B: Sapa?

76. B: *Who is it?*

77. C: Paq Santo.

77. C: *Mr Santo.*

78. B: Ó.

78. B: *Oh.*

79. A: Lhóh. Lha Papi tađi gi sana.

79. A: *Wait a minute. But your dad was on his way to his place.*

80. B: Katané beli gudek. Ntiq dibèl kembali, gitu mari. Séq beli gudek dèqé.

80. B: *He said he was going to buy some gudeg [jackfruit relish]. Why don't you tell him he'll call him back. He's gone to buy some gudeg.*

81. C: Sdah pigi sana, to? Pigi nggèné dèqé, to?

81. C: *He's gone there, has he? He's gone to his place, has he?*

82. B: He?

82. B: *Huh?*

83. C: Ngéq, pigi, beli ngéq Bu Santo, to, anuné?

83. C: *He's at, he's going to, he's going to buy the whatchamacallit at Mrs Santo's, right?*

84. B: Endaq. Gudeké beli ngéq Paq Aman Suroso.

84. B: *No. He's buying the gudeg at Mr Aman Suroso's.*

85. A: Ada perlu apa, gitu. Baru keluar.

85. A: *Why don't you ask him what he wants. Tell him your dad happens to be out.*

86. C: [Speaking on the phone again, in Indonesian] Haló. Haló. Anu, Paq, Ayah masih pergi. Yha?

86. C: *Hello. Hello. Er, Father's out, sir. Yes? LPG (liquefied propane gas) containers? Why*

Tabóng Èlpiji? Begini. Nanti kaloq dateng, saya tañaken, nantiq biar dibèl kembali. Begitu bisa? E, nomerña brapa, Paq? Eh, dlapen mpat tujuh, yha? Soqalña saya sendiri nggaq tau. Yha? Maqmór. Maqmór mungkén. Iyha.

87. A: [In Indonesian] Yang jual? Yha, Maqmór koq.
88. C: Sbentar, yha, saya tañaken dulu, yha.
89. B: Apané?
90. C: Tabóngé Èlpiji. Maqmór isa?
91. A: Beli, gasé.
92. B: Anuné, gasé, ta?
93. C: Heqe.
94. B: Iyha. Édison, Tókó Édison.
95. C: Lhó, kan Jak-, Surabaya?
96. B: Sini. Pasuruan. Édison Pasuruan.
97. C: [On the phone again] Ó, Tókó Édison, Paq. Óh, sebentar, yha.
98. B: Heqe?
99. C: Nomeré, télpóné?
100. B: Nomeré, télfón, mintaq Édison gitu aé, sambóng koq.
101. C: [On the phone again] Mintaq gitu, Édison, bisa sambóng, kataña. Iyha. Iyha. Kembali.
102. A: Lhó, ini Kim Séng itu ari jual ...
103. B: Jual Èlpiji.
104. A: Èlpijiné puñaqé dèwèq itu ...
105. B: Jual.
106. A: Apiq lhó, séng ndiséq itu. Tèqé Sin sdah mrotoli tengahé itu.

*don't we do it this way? When he comes back, I'll ask him, and then he'll call you back. Is that OK? Er, what's your number, sir? Er, eight-four-seven, is it? The thing is, I don't know anything myself. Yes? Maqmór? Maybe they do. Yes.*

87. A: *The place that sells them? Yes, Maqmór does.*
88. C: *Wait a minute, let me find out, all right?*
89. B: *What is it?*
90. C: *LPG containers. Does Maqmór carry them?*
91. A: *You've got to buy the gas.*
92. B: *Is it the whatchamacallit, the gas?*
93. C: *Hm.*
94. B: *Yes. At Edison, the Edison store.*
95. C: *Wait, isn't that in Jak-, Surabaya?*
96. B: *It's here. In Pasuruan. The Edison in Pasuruan.*
97. C: *Oh, you can get it at the Edison store, sir. Oh, just a minute.*
98. B: *Hm?*
99. C: *The number, the phone number?*
100. B: *The number, the phone number, just tell him to ask for Edison, the operator will connect him.*
101. C: *You just need to ask for Edison; my mother said the operator could connect you. Yes. Yes. You're welcome.*
102. A: *Wait, the other day Kim Séng sold ...*
103. B: *He sold the LPG stove.*
104. A: *You mean our own LPG stove ...*
105. B: *He sold it.*
106. A: *That was a good one. Sin's has started to fall apart in the middle.*

107. B: Ó, Sin itu beli séng anu ... 107. B: *Oh, Sin bought the, you know, the type ...*
108. A: Heqe, séng Linay itu. 108. A: *Hm, a Linay.*
109. B: Séng Linay itu èlèq. Gwan bilang, [quoting in Javanese] "Ko l, ojo tuku koyoq tètqu iki, elèq. Tukuo Sañó aé." 109. B: *The Linay is a bad make. Gwan said, "Don't buy one like mine. It's bad. Buy a Sanyo."*
110. A: Itu sudah anu, mrotoli tengae itu. 110. A: *It has started, the middle part has started to fall apart.*
111. B: Lha yha ... Terós gini. Fan mèy taqjual. 111. B: *That's it ... So we decided to do this. I sold mine.*
112. A: Heqe, yhé jual piro? 112. A: *Hm, how much did you sell it for?*
113. B: Heqe. Féértekh, twééde hans sudahan. 113. B: *Hm. Rp40,000, it was already used.*
114. A: Tapi sonder tabóng, to? 114. A: *That was without the container, right?*
115. B: Sitoq mèqan tabóngé. 115. B: *There was only one container.*
116. C: Sitoq. Itu sala, itu. 116. C: *There was one. That was wrong.*
117. A: Óó, katané Sin, tabóngé itu fèyfentwéntekh mil dèwèq. 117. A: *Oh, Sin said, the container itself already costs Rp25,000.*
118. B: Wés, yhé itu koq, mura. Itu dua tabóng dengen yang baru cumaq nem pulu lima. Olè tabóng dua. 118. B: *Gee, you're so stubborn; it's really cheap. Two containers and a new stove only cost Rp65,000. You get two containers.*
119. C: Mana isa fèyfentwéntekh? Nèwa gitu itu maqan. 119. C: *How can it be Rp25,000. You just rent those containers.*
120. B: Nèq beli baru, twæælf dæesen. 120. B: *If you buy a new one, it's Rp12,000.*
121. C: Podo mbéq itu lhó, apa ... 121. C: *Just like, you know, what is it ...*
122. B: Kalóq, kalóq beli nggoné tempaté énküsif cumaq dirèken piro, sitoq ... Pokoq Bu Bèni itu beli sonder tabóng féértekh dæesen. Beli sitoq twæælf en half. Twæælf en half itu dengen isiné lhó, itu. Yhé nèq beli gasé twéé dæesen dadi berqarti tin dæesen mèqan. 122. B: *If, if you buy the container, the container, they only charge you, how much do they charge you, if it's included in the purchase of a stove, how much ... Anyway, Mrs Bèni bought one without a container for Rp40,000. If you buy one, it's Rp12,000. They charge you Rp12,500 including the contents, you know. You can buy the gas for Rp2,000, so that means the container only costs Rp12,000.*

123. A: Endaq, anu, Ciq Som itu koq beli koq céq larangé to. Tapi yha gedé.  
 123. A: *No, whatshisname, Som bought one but it was so expensive. But it was big.*
124. B: Ó, itu seng anu ...  
 124. B: *Oh, that's a, you know ...*
125. A: Ófen.  
 125. A: *It had an oven.*
126. B: Dua ratós, dua ratós itu.  
 126. B: *That type costs Rp200,000.*
127. A: Isiné empat, yha? Empat, terós bawahé ini kenèq dikeja békén kuèh.  
 127. A: *It has four burners, right? Four burners, and you can use the lower part for baking cakes.*
128. B: Yha, itu séng dua ratós. Ada Èlpiji. Heqe.  
 128. B: *Yeah, that type costs Rp200,000. LPG has it. Hm.*

### Conversation 7: AT A DEATH WAKE

A conversation at a Peranakan woman's death wake, involving an elderly lower-class Peranakan man (A), an upper-class Peranakan man of about the same age (B), a Totok man in his 30s (C), a Totok youth in his 20s (D), and B's son (E). The conversation is basically in polite East Java Malay. As the men feel more relaxed, their utterances become more and more informal. They use Hokkien loanwords freely; these will be underlined.

1. C: Óm, kapan dateng, Óm?  
 1. C: *When did you get here, sir?*
2. B: Ayóq, cé.  
 2. B: *Please, sit down.*
3. C: Bermalem?  
 3. C: *Are you staying here tonight?*
4. A: Ndaq.  
 4. A: *No, I'm not.*
5. B: Ó, nantiq anu, kembali?  
 5. B: *Oh, I see, you're going back later?*
6. A: Óé.  
 6. A: *Yes.*
7. B: Di Lawang, to?  
 7. B: *You live in Lawang, don't you?*
8. A: Misiq, tetep. Seréng ke Lawang apa?  
 8. A: *Yes, I still do, at the same place. Do you often go to Lawang?*
9. B: Gitu lah. Tapi yha ...  
 9. B: *Well, yes. But well ...*
10. C: [inaudible]  
 10. C: [inaudible]
11. A: Ès, wé.  
 11. A: *Yes, cold drinks.*
12. B: Kasén ès. Wé pernah.  
 12. B: *Kasin Ice. I've been there.*
13. A: Jalan Kasén, jual ès, gitu. Jual ès campór.  
 13. A: *I'm on Jalan Kasin, the place that sells cold drinks, you know. We sell es campur [gelato].*
14. C: Tapi anu, ramé.  
 14. C: *But it must be, you know, doing well.*



15. B: Kota besar mèmang gitu. Nèq sḍah kadóng laris ... Nĩtaq ðuéq.

16. C: Nèq makanan, bañaq.

(A is complaining about the problems he encounters in his cafe.)

17. A: Rombongan lima dibilang tiga gitu yha aḍa.

18. B: Biasa. Wong wé ini pernah numoni ðewèq koq, ndéq nggèné Sam Tong itu, wé tepaq minóm ndéq sana, wé, sama arèq-arèq Whana itu, yha, makan pisang gorèng, yha tiga itu dibilang satu, gitu. Itu biasa.

19. A: Kadang-kadang diem aja, Ko, puraq-purag lupa, Ko. Dadi anaq-anag itu wé blajari. Wé ñobaq ke dia itu seperti kagèt, Koh, dadi ketauan ... Trós jawapña itu sḍah kayaq orang grogi gitu, Koh.

20. C: Laén.

21. A: "Iyha, yha, dua." Lha taḍi dia bilang, "Yha ini." "Yha ini" itu yha berarti esña saja, gitu lhó, Koh. Ndaq bilang kuèh. Lha nèq anaq-anag yang ..., langsóng. "Dua, tiga ratós, Paq." Sudah, diem aja. Jadi dia ndaq bilang kuèña. Lha nèq dicomplaq kuè gitu orangé kayaq kaget gitu lhó, Koh.

22. B: Tapi anu koq, yha, Ko, yha caraña yang puña, yang puña depot itu, satu péréng bilang nem biji.

23. A: Ngambél yang mana ndaq tau jugaq, Koh. "Lhó ini taḍi koq sepuluh koq tinggal anu, yha ..."

15. B: *It's really like that in the big city. If you're already doing well ... it's like printing money.*

16. C: *You make lots of profit when you deal in food.*

17. A: *A whole group would come in, and they took five, but they'd say three. There are people like that.*

18. B: *That's normal. You know I've experienced it myself, at Sam Tong's, I was drinking something there, and there were these indigenous kids, they ate three banana fritters and said they only ate one, you know. That's normal.*

19. A: *Sometimes they don't say anything, they pretend they've forgotten. So I taught my kids. I'd try to surprise them, so that I'd be able to catch them ... Then they'd talk in a very uncertain way, you know.*

20. C: *They'd say a different thing.*

21. A: *"Yes, that's right, we ate two." Before that he'd say, "This is it." "This is it" means only the cold drinks, you know. They wouldn't mention the cakes. So when my kids are ..., they'd just say it right away. "That'll be Rp300 for the two cakes, sir." That's it, they're not going to say anything. They wouldn't mention the cakes otherwise. When you mention the cakes that way, they'd act surprised or something like that.*

22. B: *But it's, you know, it's the way cafe owners do it, they make sure there are always six of something on a plate.*

23. A: *You wouldn't know which plate they took things from. "Wait, there were ten here, how come there were only, you know ..."*

24. D: Yha suka-dukané.
25. A: Ndaq isa, Koh. Lha lainé itu, Koh.
26. C: Ko, nèq séng anu, séng anu laq isa dikuarno, yha?
27. A: Wé.
28. C: Orang itu bren-, pindah ...
29. A: Wé nèq sepi, Koh, satu grup, satu grup. Lha nèq terós itu, yha ... Nèq anu dódóq sana, wé, kuéné ndaq cocok bediri ngambél séng sini. Yaqapa?
30. B: Anóq dibesangi aé.
31. E: Diisèni lomboq dalemé.
32. B: Lhó, wé dèwèq ini bilang, bisa ngomong itu, pernah ngalami. Wé dulu kan misiq mudané, Ko, wé ...
33. A: Óé.
34. B: Jamané, jamané séq sabón apa itu, wé kan seréng makan ndéq Mbangél, Ka Té Èm itu lhó.
35. A: Óé.
36. B: Itu kan ngegok a, itu?
37. A: Óé, waa.
38. C: Berhóbóng dèqé ngegok, dadi orang-orang itu ...
39. B: Ñolong ...
40. C: Ñolong ...
41. D: Ñolong ...
42. C: Cobaq dèqé ndaq ngegok, murah gitu, orang séq mékér.
24. D: *Well, that's the art of running a cafe.*
25. A: *That's impossible. What about the others?*
26. C: *Couldn't you take out the what-chamacallit, you know, couldn't you?*
27. A: *No.*
28. C: *People would sto-, move ...*
29. A: *Well, it's fine when there aren't too many people, when there's a group come in, then another group. But when they keep coming, well ... Sometimes they'd sit at one place, you know, and they don't like the cakes, they'd stand up and take from another place. What do you do?*
30. B: *You might as well put poison in the cakes.*
31. E: *Put chili peppers inside them.*
32. B: *You know, I say, I can say these things, because I've experienced it myself. When I was young, you know ...*
33. A: *Yes.*
34. B: *That was the time, that was the time I was doing business in soap and stuff, you know, I often ate in Bangil, at that place called K.T.M., you know.*
35. A: *Yes.*
36. B: *Those people always overcharge, you know.*
37. A: *Yes, indeed they do!*
38. C: *Since they overcharge, people ...*
39. B: *They'd steal ...*
40. C: *Would steal ...*
41. D: *They'd steal ...*
42. C: *If they don't overcharge, if they have low prices, then people would think twice.*

43. B: Lha moro-moro anu, gini, nasiq rawon, gini-gini-gini, ó, yha, piro-piro-piro, jéng nggo. Lha kita ndaq tau itungané to, Nép. Yha ndaq? Sampéq pulang itu taqrèkenrèken. [Quoting himself in neutral East Java Malay] "Piro regané ini? Makan gini mosoq jéng nggo?" Trós akhére bañaq orang bilang ngegok, mbales, Nép.
44. D: Mbales ngegok, yha?
45. B: Tiga warah satu.
46. A: Lha ada, Ko, satu Teng Lang, yha. Itu bekas petinju itu lhó, A Kéng itu.
47. B: A Kéng.
48. A: Waa ...
49. B: Óó.
50. A: Lha orang wé séq wedi, Ko, masio ... Jalan itu sukaq agaqa sempoyongan, Ko, sekarang.
51. D: Sgah tua?
52. A: Lhó, ndaq, kwalat morotuané, dipukuli. Wađuh, hamper mati.
53. B: Mertuané?
54. A: Óé. Puña kesalahan apa, gitu, dīpókól terlalu. Didóaq-dóaqno, [quoting in Javanese] "Mandar joq slamet kon, yho."
55. B: Séng ndaq slamet dèqé apa?
56. A: Waa, sengguan, si anu, A Kéngé ndaq slamet. Sudah opname brapa? Skarang nèq jalan agaqa ... Yha itu nèq pigi waróng wé itu ngentèni lamaa. Itu sudah berulang-ulang. Nèq sepuluh kali aé ada. Ngentèni nèq sgah bañaq orang, beđiri, grèt, gitu.
43. B: You know, suddenly, they'd total up the bill, nasi rawon [spicy rice], this and this and this, oh, well, something thus and such, Rp1,500. Well, we don't know the calculation, right? Isn't that right? On the way home I kept calculating. "How much were the prices? I couldn't have spent Rp1,500 just eating those things." And then later on a lot of people told me they over-charged, so I took revenge on them.
44. D: So you overcharged them, did you?
45. B: I'd take three of something and only admit to one.
46. A: There is this Chinese, you know. It's that ex-boxer, you know, A Kéng.
47. B: A Kéng.
48. A: My ...
49. B: Oh.
50. A: He still makes me scared, you know, although ... He walks in a rather wobbly way now.
51. D: Is he old?
52. A: Oh, no, he got cursed by his father-in-law, whom he had once beaten up. My, he was almost dead.
53. B: The father-in-law?
54. A: Yes. He did something wrong, I don't know what, you know, and A Kéng beat him up severely. So he cursed, "May you be unlucky."
55. B: So he was unlucky, was he?
56. A: Well, it came true, A Kéng became unlucky. How many times has he been hospitalised? Now he walks rather ... He'd come to my cafe and wait a long time. This has happened time and again. Perhaps ten times already. He'd wait until there are a lot of people, and he'd stand up, screech, you know.

57. D: Gendeng.

58. A: Ué. Lha wé, yha, sdah tau.  
Wé pékér, yha, bekas petinju,  
wé nèq dantem yha ... [In  
 Javanese] Wés, gaq wani aku.  
 [Back to Malay] Seréngkali, yha,  
 dia itu, mangkel makan nasiq,  
 yha sudahlah. Pegi ngéq anaq-  
 anaq itu, aduh. Terutama nèq  
 ada tinju. Nèq sudah menang,  
 didatengi. Anaq-anaq tinju itu,  
 yha, dibilang, "Belóm dateng,  
 pegi, apa," ditunggoqi sampéq  
 stenga ari. Nèq sudah dimintaqi  
 uang. Ngéq alón-alón arèq-arèq  
 makelar-makelar itu, yha gitu,  
 dimintaqi uang. Dipekse sdah,  
 dimintaqi uang. Dah, yaqapa  
 itu?

59. C: A Kéng itu Whana Teng Lang?

60. B: Teng Lang.

61. A: Dulu itu, anu ...

62. B: Juara.

63. A: Pernah nglaté golongané arèq-  
 arèq stasion situ. Cumaq brapa  
 lama gitu, trós pinda. Kyan  
 Léng apa itu. Kan manggél A  
 Kéng? Èman lhó, yha, cobaqo  
 dèqé itu betól-betól acóh, wé  
 kira yha cókóp, yha?

64. B: Tapi sudah karmaña.

65. A: Sadisé orang.

66. C: Móngkén dèqé pikiran, olèné  
 gampang.

67. B: Ndaq kenèq, nórót wé. Orang  
 itu kaloq brani nglawan orang  
 tua, ndaq slamet ... Wé kira  
 koq gitu, yha.

68. A: Betól.

69. B: Bañaq, bañaq. Cántóné bañaq.

57. D: *He's gone crazy.*

58. A: *Yes. Well, I know better. I  
 thought, he's an ex-boxer, if  
 he beats me up, well, ... I  
 don't have the guts; leave him  
 be. He'd often do that, you  
 know, he'd ask for rice, and it  
 annoys me, but leave him be.  
 The way he treats some guys, my.  
 Especially when there's a boxing  
 match. When someone wins, he'd  
 come to him. Those boxer guys,  
 you know, guys like Sosro, he'd  
 come to them. People would tell  
 him, "He hasn't come home yet,  
 he's out, whatever," and he'd  
 wait, sometimes for half a day  
 or something. Then he'd ask for  
 money. In the town square, he'd  
 ask those wheeler-dealers for  
 money. He'd force them to give  
 him money. My, what has he  
 become?*

59. C: *Is this A Kéng indigenous or  
 Chinese?*

60. B: *Chinese.*

61. A: *In the past, you know, ...*

62. B: *He was a champion.*

63. A: *He once coached those guys at  
 the station. Only for a while  
 or something like that, then he  
 moved on. People like Kyan Léng  
 would hire him, you know. It's  
 really too bad, if he'd only take  
 care of himself, the money from  
 those jobs would be enough,  
 don't you think?*

64. B: *But that's his karma.*

65. A: *People can be so sadistic.*

66. C: *Maybe he thought, it was so  
 easy to get money.*

67. B: *No, in my opinion you can't do  
 that. When you dare to defy  
 your parents, then you'll be  
 unlucky ... I think so, don't  
 you?*

68. A: *That's right.*

69. B: *There's plenty, plenty of  
 examples already.*

70. A: Nèq cèk-cok aé séq ndaq pa-pa, lumbrah to, Ko, yha?
70. A: *Squabbles are all right, they're normal, right?*
71. B: Lhó, yha pokoqña mbéq orang tua yha jangan, Koh. Wong yang nglahérken kita itu.
71. B: *Wait a minute, you mustn't do that to your parents, anyway. After all, they give us life.*
72. A: Ué.
72. A: *Yes.*
73. B: Yha to? Terutama ibu lhó.
73. B: *Isn't that so? Especially your mother.*
74. D: Yha.
74. D: *Yes.*
75. A: Wé.
75. A: *Yes.*
76. B: Terutama ibu.
76. B: *Especially your mother.*
77. A: Rumah sana ndaq ditempati, Koh?
77. A: *Is the other house unoccupied?*
78. B: Téq, Koh. Wé di sini skarang. Sdah lama, mólai taón nem puluh satu. Yha cwan cyaq, Koh, skarang. Pasuruan ini nèq ndaq, apa, Ko? Bisa cwan cyaq itu ...
78. B: *Ték lives there. I live near here now. It's been a while now, since 1961. Well, we can make both ends meet now. What do you expect if you live in Pasuruan. To make both ends meet ...*
79. A: Adéqña anu, ñoñané Ngko ngéq mana?
79. A: *Your wife's, you know, her sister, where's she now?*
80. B: Ñang itu é póq sekarang, ada di ...
80. B: *Oh, that one's doing well now, she's in ...*
81. A: Ada di mana?
81. A: *Where is she?*
82. B: Samarénda.
82. B: *Samarinda.*
83. A: Ó, ada Samarénda.
83. A: *Oh, she's in Samarinda.*
84. B: Yang Sin itu.
84. B: *That's Sin.*
85. A: Wé, Sin, wé. Có apa, Koh?
85. A: *Yes, Sin, isn't it? What does she do?*
86. B: Puña kapal, Koh. Samatongkang itu. Yha muat-muatan. Itu ngéq Samarénda itu kan Sungèy Barito itu kan dilayari kapal.
86. B: *She owns ships. And barges. Well, they transport cargo. You know the Barito River in Samarinda is navigable.*
87. A: Óé. Anaqé brapa, Ko?
87. A: *That's right. How many kids does she have?*
88. B: Lima. Ada Ostrali dua, sekolah sana, Ko.
88. B: *Five. Two of them are in Australia, they go to school there.*



19. A: Pinjem sópérna.  
 20. B: Saya.  
 21. A: Ñambangi, pinjem sópérna itu kan ditabraqno ótóna.  
 22. B: Éé.  
 23. A: Nabraq. Montor tu baru.  
 24. B: Saya.  
 25. A: Gitu lhó, baru beli. Yha twééde hans.  
 26. B: Saya. Saya.  
 27. A: Lantas dibékén ñambangi pigi sana tu, pulangña tu misiq belón gelap betól lhó.  
 28. B: Tabraqno?  
 29. A: Dari Lawang tu, nabraq. Stólña dia yang salah lhó.  
 30. B: Saya.  
 31. A: Ini ada cिकar mukaqña tu, dia daq kliatan.  
 32. B: Tua to, Déq?  
 33. A: Sópér muda. Itu ada cिकar, tapi cिकar tu yha mèmang ndaq pakéq lampu. Tapi dia yha salah ...  
 34. B: Saya.  
 35. A: Anuña, montorña tu, lampuña tu digelapken, ndaq sbentar-sbentar tlalu mencorong gitu.  
 36. B: Saya, Déq, yang ...  
 37. A: Lantas daq kliatan, tau-tau sdah deket, diènggoqken gini, nabraq ótó dari sana. Dua-dua pótós stirña ...  
 38. B: Óó, stirña ...  
 39. A: Saya. Stirña pótós, anuña ancór, ini lhó ...
19. A: *We borrowed one of their chauffeurs.*  
 20. B: *Yes.*  
 21. A: *We were going to visit him, so we borrowed this chauffeur, and he got the car into a collision, you know.*  
 22. B: *What?*  
 23. A: *We got into a collision. It was a new car.*  
 24. B: *Yes.*  
 25. A: *You know, we'd just bought it. Well, it was a second-hand car.*  
 26. B: *Yes. Yes.*  
 27. A: *So we rode in it to visit him there, it wasn't really dark yet when we went home.*  
 28. B: *And he got you into a collision?*  
 29. A: *It was after Lawang when we got into the collision. Actually it was his fault.*  
 30. B: *Yes.*  
 31. A: *There was an oxcart in front of us, so he couldn't see ahead.*  
 32. B: *Was he old?*  
 33. A: *No, he was a young chauffeur. So there was this oxcart, but it of course did not have lights on. But he was also wrong ...*  
 34. B: *Yes.*  
 35. A: *You know, the car, he dimmed the headlights, so that they wouldn't be too glaring.*  
 36. B: *Yes, the ones ...*  
 37. A: *So he couldn't see ahead, and suddenly the thing was close, he tried to swerve the car this way, and he crashed into this car coming from the other direction. Both cars had the steering-wheel broken ...*  
 38. B: *Oh, the steering-wheel ...*  
 39. A: *Yes. The steering-wheel was broken, the whatchamacallit was shattered, you know ...*

40. B: Saya.
41. A: Anuñña tu, bomperña tu lhó.
42. B: Saya.
43. A: Ótó tu ancór.
44. B: Saya.
45. A: Pèsoq semua ...
46. B: Yha, tapi yang lukaq itu, tapi ndaq ...
47. A: Ótó tua, saya? Yha rodoq kuat, saya? Koq óntóngña, koq anu ...
48. B: Ndaq pa-pa.
49. A: Ddaq ada apa-apa saq-, anu ini, semua ini lhó. Saya ini ...
50. B: Saya, slameté. Saya.
51. A: Kuatér Jois ini dódóq di ...
52. B: Mukaq.
53. A: Depan. Saya. Kalóq mencolot ...
54. B: Saya, kuatér koconé apa tu, tau-tau pyor, adu, kalóq pecah ...
55. A: Saya.
56. B: Berbahaya. Saya.
57. A: Tlalu lhó, sembronoña ...
58. B: Sembrono. Yaqapa? Yha itu lhó, Déq, yaqapa? Sdah meninggal koq, supiré yang nabraq itu.
59. A: Barangkali, yha?
60. B: Nabraq Kol.
61. A: Misiq muda? Muda?
62. B: Saya ndaq tau mudaña tuaña. Wong nabraqé di Kraton sana.
63. A: Saya.
40. B: Yes.
41. A: *The whatchamacallit, you know, the bumper.*
42. B: Yes.
43. A: *The car was shattered.*
44. B: Yes.
45. A: *It was all dented ...*
46. B: *Yes, but nobody was hurt, but ...*
47. A: *It was an older model car, right? So it was fairly sturdy, right? Fortunately, you know ...*
48. B: *You were all right.*
49. A: *The who-, you know, nobody was hurt. Myself ...*
50. B: *Yes, you were lucky. Yes.*
51. A: *I was worried because Jois was sitting in ...*
52. B: *In front.*
53. A: *In front. Yes. If she had jerked forward ...*
54. B: *Yes, you must have been worried about the windshield, all of a sudden, crash, my, what if it had broken ...*
55. A: Yes.
56. B: *That would have been dangerous. Yes.*
57. A: *He was terrible, the way he was so careless ...*
58. B: *That was careless. How could it have happened, you know? The chauffeur, the one who got them into the collision, is dead.*
59. A: *He may have died, right?*
60. B: *They crashed with a Colt mini-bus.*
61. A: *Was he still young? Was he young?*
62. B: *I have no idea if he was young or old. They crashed in Kraton.*
63. A: Yes.



64. B: Saya ndaq ngerti. Cumaq ...
65. A: Lha mèmang Kol tu kan mau menangña sendiri.
66. B: Saya. Kol mèmang banter. Saya, yha.
67. A: Bwanter. Èn dia kataña ngasiqi isyarat, gitu, pakéq lampu ...
68. B: Saya.
69. A: Tapi ñang ini daq mau ngalah.
70. B: Saya.
71. A: Bwanter aja, Jip ini.
72. B: Saya.
73. A: Kataña Jip baru.
74. B: Jip baru mèmang, Jip baru. [In Javanese] Lha itu, wong gaq ono gawéné, cumaq angen-angen [inaudible]. Wong wong [back to Malay] laén sda telat, ha yha huru-huru, kira-kira yha dicepetno.
75. A: Bu Momon tu kaloq ke sini tu musti, yha ...
76. B: Saya, mangkané gitu ...
77. A: Anu, panggél-panggél, "Tante, ..."
78. B: Baéq Bu Momon.
79. A: Baéq, saya.
80. B: Bu Olan. Saya. Bu Karman.
81. A: Sukaq ketawa orangña itu.
82. B: Saya.
83. A: Jadi saya ini dibilangi kemaren pagi, kliaq-kliaqen terós.
84. B: Saya. Wong saya ini mandaq nglayat, saya ini nangés, é. Angger órang nangés, saya turót nangés. Ada órang ...
85. A: Ha yha. Yaqapa?
86. B: Ngeri, éq.
87. A: Saya. Duh.
64. B: *I have no idea. Except ...*
65. A: *You know how Colt minibuses always want the right of way.*
66. B: *Yes. They do go fast. Don't they?*
67. A: *Very fast. And they say he gave a signal, you know, using the headlights ...*
68. B: *Yes.*
69. A: *But this one didn't want to yield.*
70. B: *That's right.*
71. A: *So this Jeep just went very fast.*
72. B: *Yes.*
73. A: *They say it was a new Jeep.*
74. B: *It was a new Jeep, it was. There they were, they had nothing to do, so they thought [inaudible]. Since everybody else was late, they must have been in a hurry, I guess he just sped it up.*
75. A: *Every time Mrs Momon came here, she always ...*
76. B: *That's right, that's why ...*
77. A: *She used to always greet me ...*
78. B: *She was nice.*
79. A: *Yes, she was.*
80. B: *Mrs Olan. Yes. Mrs Karman.*
81. A: *She laughed a lot.*
82. B: *Yes.*
83. A: *So when they told me yesterday morning, I kept seeing her in my mind.*
84. B: *Right. I even went to the funerals, and every time someone would cry, I would cry, too. There were people ...*
85. A: *That's right. How could it have happened?*
86. B: *It was really creepy.*
87. A: *Yes. Gosh!*

88. B: Nglayat tu sdah jelas. Lha tonggo saya sendiri meninggal, tapi sdah tua, mèmang sakét. Mamaé, itu ibuqña ...
88. B: *When you go to a funeral, of course you cry. And then this neighbour of mine died, but she was old, and she'd been ill. She was the mother ...*
89. A: How!
89. A: *How!*
90. H (A's grandson): Apa?
90. H: *What is it?*
91. B: Jangan, Déq, wong sdah ...  
Jangan, Déq, ndaq pa-pa. Saya dah ...
91. B: *Don't, I've already ... Don't, it's all right. I've ...*
92. A: [In neutral East Java Malay] Ambéqno gelas ...
92. A: *Get us the glasses ...*
93. B: Koq nggawé rèpot aja, Déq.
93. B: *I'm just giving you trouble.*
94. A: Ndaq, ada.
94. A: *No, we already have something.*
95. B: Anu ...
95. B: *Er ...*
96. H: Jeróq sukaq to, Maq?
96. H: *Would you care for an orange drink, Ma'am?*
97. B: Sukaq. Sembarang sukaq.  
"Jeroq sukaq ta, Maq?" [Laughter; H struck B as odd because he asked her if she cared for an orange drink, the custom being simply to bring drinks for guests without first asking them what they care for.]
97. B: *Yes, I would. I like everything. "Would you care for an orange drink, Ma'am?"*
98. A: Anu, "Ménóm gula apa ndaq," gitu lhó.
98. A: *You know, you should have asked, "Do you take sugar or not," or something like that.*
99. B: Taqpermisi kencéng lhó, yha.
99. B: *Excuse me, I need to go urinate.*
100. A: Saya, mariq, mariq.
100. A: *Sure, go ahead.*
101. B: Anjingé ndaq pa-pa, saya?
101. B: *The dog's all right, no?*
102. A: Tasña? Tasña?
102. A: *What about your bag? Your bag?*
103. B: [In informal polite East Java Malay] Biarno, mari. Adéq kan ndéq sini to?
103. B: *Leave it be. You'll be here, won't you?*
104. A: Saya.
104. A: *Yes.*
105. B: Permissi, yha, Déq, taqjalan dulu.
105. B: *Excuse me.*
106. A: Saya. Ati-ati lho.
106. A: *Sure. Watch your step.*
107. B: Anjingé.
107. B: *The dog.*
108. A: Ndaq, ndaq pa-pa koq, wong ini anjéng prempuan. [To H, in neutral East Java Malay] Ambéqno, gé. Liaqno tasé.
108. A: *No, don't worry, she's all right, she's only a female dog. Come on, get us the drinks. And keep an eye on the bag.*

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 109. B: Ini sana terós, Dég?                  | 109. B: <i>Do I go further?</i>                               |
| 110. A: Saya, pojq sendiri. Kejauen jedéngña. | 110. A: <i>Yes, to the very end. The bathroom is too far.</i> |
| 111. B: Ó, ndaq koq. Ini apa, Dég?            | 111. B: <i>Oh, no, it's not. Is this it?</i>                  |
| 112. A: Saya, terós.                          | 112. A: <i>Right, further on.</i>                             |
| 113. B: Ó, ini dapórña.                       | 113. B: <i>Oh, this is the kitchen.</i>                       |
| 114. A: Saya.                                 | 114. A: <i>Yes.</i>   |

### Conversation 9: AT A CAMERA STORE

A conversation involving several different people at a camera store run by a fairly young Totok couple. Their assistant is a young Totok woman in her 20s. All of them have had some Mandarin-medium education, either formally or informally at home. There are three customers, a young Peranakan man who has had contacts with Mandarin-speaking Totok, a young Totok man who knows the couple quite well, and a middle-class Javanese man. Since within the three minutes or so in which the conversation takes place Javanese, Malay and Mandarin are spoken and Hokkien and Mandarin loanwords are used, the utterances or their parts will be indicated every time a new code is used by using (J) for Javanese, (Ml) for Malay, (H) for Hokkien and (Mn) for Mandarin. The speakers will be introduced as they first appear.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. A (the Peranakan man): [Ml] Kapan mariné?                   | 1. A: <i>When will they be ready?</i>                             |
| 2. B (the shop assistant): [Mn] U dyèn. [Ml] Cètaq semua, yha? | 2. B: <i>In five days. You wanted all of them printed, right?</i> |
| 3. A: Heqe, séng ba-, yha cètaq semua wés.                     | 3. A: <i>Hm, the goo-, all right, let's print them all.</i>       |
| 4. B: Tókó apa?  | 4. B: <i>What's the name of your store?</i>                       |
| 5. A: Jaya Rasa.   | 5. A: <i>Jaya Rasa.</i>   |
| 6. B: Ó, yha sé.   | 6. B: <i>Oh, that's right.</i>                                    |
| 7. A: Ndaq puña kalènder Sakura?                               | 7. A: <i>Don't you have the Sakura calendars?</i>                 |
| 8. C (store owner, male): Séng ciliq itu?                      | 8. C: <i>You mean the small ones?</i>                             |
| 9. A: Ndeg Surabaya ada.                                       | 9. A: <i>They have them in Surabaya.</i>                          |
| 10. B: Uang mukaqé piro, Ko?                                   | 10. B: <i>How much deposit are you going to leave, sir?</i>       |
| 11. C: Ini ta?   | 11. C: <i>Is this the one you meant?</i>                          |
| 12. A: Heqe.   | 12. A: <i>Hm.</i>   |
| 13. C: Uang mukaqé piro?                                       | 13. C: <i>How much deposit are you going to leave?</i>            |

14. A: Ee, [Mn] i jyèn [M1] a?  
 15. B: [Mn] I jyèn?  
 16. A: [M1] Kasiq [Mn] i jyèn [M1] diséq, yha?  
 17. B: Yha wés.  
 18. C: Kasiqono anu, kalènderé.  
 19. A: Mintaq kalènderé, yha. Séng dogóq itu aé.  
 20. D (the Javanese): [J] Aku olè pisan nèq ngónó, yho? Yho, Koh?  
 21. C: Heh?  
 22. D: Olè pisan, yho?  
 23. B: [M1] Ngiri.  
 24. E (the store owner, female): [J] Nèq cuci-cètaq podó.  
 25. C: Nèq cuci-cètaq dikèqi.  
 26. E: [M1] Satu rol félem, dapet satu kalènder. [J] Tuku félem saqrol aé. [M1] Atow cuci-cètaq satu rol fótó, [J] taqkèqi kalènder.  
 27. A: [M1] Cumaq Sakura séng ngasiq!, yha? Laéné ndaq, yha?  
 28. C: Fuji ada suga abés, cumaq, cumaq nem biji, lima.  
 29. A: Kecil gitu, yha?  
 30. C: He?  
 31. A: Ciliq gitu, yha?  
 32. E: Gedé.  
 33. C: Gedé.  
 34. A: Gedé, yha?  
 35. C: "Abés," taqgituqno.  
 36. E: Sini aé gaq kumanan ...  
 37. C: Dèqé tulisen.  
 38. B: [Mn] Se-moq? Syè semoq?
14. A: *Er, what about Rp1,000?*  
 15. B: *Rp1,000?*  
 16. A: *I'll give you Rp1,000 deposit, is that all right?*  
 17. B: *Sure.*  
 18. C: *Give him the whatchamacallit, the calendar.*  
 19. A: *Give me the calendar, all right? Just the desk calendar.*  
 20. D: *Then I get one, too, do I? Do I, sir?*  
 21. C: *Huh?*  
 22. D: *I get one, too, right?*  
 23. B: *He's envious.*  
 24. E: *We give you one if you have films processed and printed.*  
 25. C: *If you have films processed and printed, we'll give you one.*  
 26. E: *If you buy a roll of film, you get one calendar. Why don't you just buy a roll of film. Or have a roll of pictures processed and printed, and I'll give you a calendar.*  
 27. A: *Is it only Sakura that gives calendars? The others don't, do they?*  
 28. C: *We had some from Fuji, but we've run out of them. We only, only got six of them, five.*  
 29. A: *Were they small like that one?*  
 30. C: *Huh?*  
 31. A: *Were they small like that one?*  
 32. E: *They were big.*  
 33. C: *They were big.*  
 34. A: *They were big, were they?*  
 35. C: *I've been telling people, "No more," like.*  
 36. E: *We didn't even get any ourselves*  
 ...  
 37. C: *Write it on his receipt.*  
 38. B: *What? What do I write?*

39. C: [M1] Satu hadiah kalènder suda diambél.  
39. C: *Received: one gift calendar.*
40. E: Yha, sudah.  
40. E: *That's right, write it so.*
41. F (the Totok customer): [Mn] Cé-kó Kodak [J] séng tétépno. Kodaké séng digowo nang Jakarta iku melòq iki.  
41. F: *Here's the Kodak that I'd like to leave here. The one that was taken to Jakarta belonged with this one.*
42. C: Óó.  
42. C: *I see.*
43. A: [M1] Ini [Mn] pay san [M1] mari, yha?  
43. A: *These will be ready on Wednesday, won't they?*
44. B: [Mn] Pay san, [M1] heqe. lyha, [Mn] cin dyèn sing ji i, [M1] yha?  
44. B: *Wednesday, hm. Yes, today's Monday, isn't it?*
45. F: [J] Onoq sepóló dino.  
45. F: *It's been ten days.*
46. A: [M1] Wés, yha?  
46. A: *That's it, right?*
47. C: Piro malem gitu, jam satu malem, [J] mbóh piro, disawati watu. Klontang, klontang.  
47. C: *I don't know how many nights, at one o'clock at night, I don't know what time, they threw rocks. Crash, crash.*
48. B: [Mn] Se-moq, Kó?  
48. B: *What is it, sir?*
49. C: [M1] Rumaé itu lhó, adéqé Ko Béli. Tiap jam satu malem.  
49. C: *You know, Mr Béli's sister's house. Every night at one.*
50. B: [Mn] Se-moq sen i?  
50. B: *What kind of ghost was it?*
51. C: [M1] Disawati batu, dari cen-dèla. Toang, toang, cendèlané ... Masi ada orang jalan ...  
51. C: *They threw rocks through the window. Crash, crash, and the window ... Even when there were people walking by ...*
52. B: [Mn] Cen-teq seq dó [M1] apa sangkèng [Mn] cen yhu sen i?  
52. B: *Were they real rocks or was it just that there was really a ghost?*
53. C: Cen-teq. Cen-teq seq-dó. [M1] Batu sungguan, tepok, tepok. Saben, wés, jam satu persis.  
53. C: *They were real. Real rocks. Real rocks, crash, crash. Every, you know, exactly at one.*
54. B: Yha [Mn] yhu rhen coq lhóng dang.  
54. B: *There must have been people who wanted to disturb them.*
55. C: [M1] Ada orang jalan, ada batu ketepok, ketepok, ketepok. Ben ari.  
55. C: *There was somebody walking by, then there were rocks, crash, crash, crash. Every day.*
56. B: Ndaq takót?  
56. B: *Weren't they scared?*
57. C: Yha takót sampèqan.  
57. C: *Well, sure they were.*
58. B: [Mn] Kwo lhay cen yhang?  
58. B: *So what happened afterwards?*
59. C: [M1] Taqomong anu ...  
59. C: *I told them, you know ...*
60. B: [Mn] Ngo kwé, yha?  
60. B: *Was it bad spirits?*
61. C: [M1] lyha. Mari gitu ...  
61. C: *Right. And then ...*

62. A: *Dèwèqno mari, yha.*
63. B: [Mn] *Iq cang kabè, yha?*
64. A: [M1] *E, ini ndaq, ada séng, ini ...*
65. B: *Ó, yha, sé. Nèq ini kabè, yha, [Mn] iq cang iq cang.*
66. A: [M1] *Nèq dari slayt isa?*
67. B: [Mn] *Koh, nheng kó, Ko, [M1] dateng slayt, dicuci?*
68. C: *Isa bèqé, cobaq Kodak, yha?*
69. B: *Kodak, yha?*
70. A: *Cumaq tiga koq.*
71. B: [Mn] *Cen yhang syè cé-kó, Ko? [To A, in M1] Séq, yha.*
72. A: *Piro, Ko, nèq anu, slayt?*
73. C: *Ó, ini cètaq dari slayt. Ukuran piro?*
74. A: *Tiga Èr.*
75. C: *Mpat ratós rupané.*
76. A: *Mpat ratós, yha? Yha wés.*
77. C: *Gini aé, gini. Masóqno anu, Kodak. Nèq ini ndaq isa.*
78. B: *Iyha, [Mn] cé-kó, cé-kó ...*
79. C: *[to his daughter, two years old, in M1] Yha sudah, gini. Kurang? Akèh gini wésan, yha? Lhó, tadi akèh ndaq.*
80. G (the daughter): *Utah.*
81. C: *Mèmanq saqqini ta? [Mn] Kang jèy fang tó a? [M1] Yha, yha, ntiq taqkasiqi, ntiq taqkasiqi lagi.*
82. B: *Kobong, éh, kosong.*
83. A: *Ndaq, ndaq taqpakéq.*
84. B: *Kosong. Èman ini.*
85. A: *Ngentèni kesuwèn ndaq ada séng dipotrèk, buaq aé. Kesusu liaq anu ...*
62. A: *Why don't you keep them separate?*
63. B: *You wanted one each, right?*
64. A: *Er, not this one, I have one that is, this one ...*
65. B: *Oh, that's right. But these you wanted one each, right?*
66. A: *Can you do it from slides?*
67. B: *Do they process slides, sir?*
68. C: *They might, why don't we try Kodak, shall we?*
69. B: *Kodak, right?*
70. A: *I've only got three of them.*
71. B: *How do I write this, sir? Just a minute.*
72. A: *How much do you charge for whatchamacallit, slides?*
73. C: *Oh, you wanted to have prints from slides. What size?*
74. A: *3R.*
75. C: *I think it's Rp400.*
76. A: *Rp400, is it? All right.*
77. C: *Why don't we do it this way? Send them to, you know, Kodak. This one can't do it.*
78. B: *Yes, this one, this one ...*
79. C: *That's it. You don't have enough? This is already plenty, isn't it? Wait a minute, did you have plenty or not?*
80. G: *I spilled it.*
81. C: *That's all you have? Did they give you a lot? All right, all right, I'll give you, I'll give you more.*
82. B: *These are overexposed, no, they're blank.*
83. A: *No, I didn't use them.*
84. B: *They're blank. It's a waste.*
85. A: *I thought it would be too long, and there was nothing to take pictures of, so I might as well waste them. I was eager to see the, you know ...*

- 86 C (to F): [J] Mboqjual piro iku aténé?
87. F: Lhó, dóróng digowo?
88. C: Góróng, aku gaq wani, wong kon meneng aé mau.
89. F: [H] Ce pèq.
90. C: Ce pèq [J] ta? [H] Ce pèq [J] ngkók taqtawaqno [H] ce pèq. [J] Kon katé lebi piro?
91. F: Rugi?
92. C: Heqe. Jual [H] no pèq [J] a?
93. F: [H] No pèq [J] wés.
94. C: Yho?
95. F: [H] No pèq njiq nggo.
96. C: No pèq, [J] yho? Yho ngkók taqtawaqno wés. Kon plin-plan plin-plan gowoen aé.
97. F: Tapi minimóm [H] ce pèq [J] lhó. Gelem, yho?
98. C: Gaq gelem wongé. Takon, takon, taqkongkon, takon mbéq Pó Syong. Takon mbéq Pó Syong dikandani Po Syong anu, "Ó, joq iki, rusaqan," jaréné. Wóróng wongé. Wingi katé dianu, wés digowo. Taqkongkon nggowo Pó Syong. "Takono kono." [To A, in M1] Tiga, yha?
99. A: Heqe. Piro ari biasané?
100. C: Ndaq tau, yha? Cobaq aé. Ini mungkén kérék Jakarta, mungkén.
101. B: Nèq slayt [Mn] piq cyaw cyu [M1] byasaé.
102. A: Ó yha?
103. C: Satu lembar, yha, maséng-maséng.
86. C: *How much are you going to sell it for?*
87. F: *Wait, you mean they haven't taken it with them?*
88. C: *No, I didn't dare to give it to them. After all, you didn't say anything earlier.*
89. F: *Rp100,000.*
90. C: *Rp100,000, is it? If you say Rp100,000, then I'll offer it at Rp100,000. How much profit do you want to make?*
91. F: *Will it be a loss?*
92. C: *Hm. Shall we sell it at Rp200,000?*
93. F: *All right, Rp200,000.*
94. C: *OK?*
95. F: *Rp225,000.*
96. C: *Rp200,000, OK? Anyway, I'll offer it at that price. If you keep changing your mind, you might as well take it back.*
97. F: *But Rp100,000 is the minimum, OK? They'll be willing to pay that much, won't they?*
98. C: *They don't want to. They asked, they asked, I told them to ask Pó Syong. They asked Pó Syong, and he told them, like, "Oh, don't buy this one, it's easily broken," he said. So they changed their mind. Yesterday they were about to, you know, they took it with them. I told them to take it to Pó Syong. "Ask him." So you've got three, right?*
99. A: *Hm. How many days does it take usually?*
100. C: *I really don't know. Let's just try. These might be sent to Jakarta, maybe.*
101. B: *Slides take longer usually.*
102. A: *Really?*
103. C: *You wanted one each, right?*

104. A: Heqe. 104. A: *Hm.*
105. C: Gini lhó, anu, sapa ... Atas nama? 105. C: *This is how you do it, you know, what's ... What's the name I should write?*
106. A: Jaya Rasa, gitu. 106. A: *Just Jaya Rasa.*
107. C: Gini lhó, nólésé. Tiga slayt warna. Mintaq dicètaq maséng-maséng satu lembar. Jumbla tiga lembar. Yha? Ntiq nèq gini itu [Mn] puq when [Ml] moro-moro langsóng ditólés ngawór aé. Ntiq ñandet ndéq sana sampéq dua minggu. Nèqé nólésé sala gitu, wés ditaróq toq ndéq anu. 107. C: *This is how you write it. Three colour slides. Please print one from each. Total: three. OK? If there's something like this, you don't ask, and you just write anything you want. Then it's going to get stuck over there as long as two weeks. If you write it wrong, then they'll just put it aside on the, you know.*
108. B: [Mn] Da puq yhow có. 108. B: *They won't do it.*
109. C: [Ml] Heqe. Nèq [Mn] puq tóng, [Ml] yha, [J] kon iku ... 109. C: *Hm. If you don't understand, you ...*
110. A: [Ml] Suda, yha, suda mari? [H] Kam sya, [Ml] yha. Ayóq, Ko. 110. A: *So everything is all set, right? Thank you. Bye.*

### Conversation 10: TALKING ABOUT JOBS

A conversation involving an upper-class Peranakan woman in her 60s and her daughter and son, both in their 40s. They have all had some Dutch-medium education. The son has just been fired from a rather well-paid job. The conversation is basically in neutral East Java Malay, although at times the speakers shift to Javanese and Dutch, as well as using loanwords from Hokkien and Dutch. As in Conversation 9, utterances or their parts will be indicated by (J) for Javanese, (M) for Malay, (H) for Hokkien and (D) for Dutch.

1. A (the son): [M] Polané cumaq njaga óli toq. 1. A: *Because what I did was just take care of the lubricating oil pumps.*
2. B (the daughter): Lha njaga óli yha iyha. Kan orang laén mbayar [J] slawé èwu. 2. B: *That's it, just taking care of the lubricating oil pumps. Other people would pay you Rp25,000.*
3. C (the mother): [M] Yha. 3. C: *Yes.*
4. B: Keja apa mesti mbayar sratós? Yha to? 4. B: *Why should they pay you Rp100,000? Right?*
5. A: Tapi mosoq sala [D] ék? Ék [M] dikèqi kerjaqan ... 5. A: *But was it my fault. I was given the job ...*



6. B: Ndaq, pékére orangé séng [D] betælen [M] itu, [D] hëy fént te düür. [M] Pékére dèqé, orang nèq njaga óli toq aé, lima belas ribu apa [J] slawé [M] kan suda cókóp. Kenapa mesti mbayari sratós? Yha to? Dadi dèqé mau cariq ...
7. C: Óóm Céng koq ada apa bilang, "Nèq ada kerjaan sratós lima pulu ribu, trimaen." Koq bilang gitu?
8. B: Sapa séng sratós lima pulu?
9. A: Sapa séng mau mbayar, Ma? Nèq ada séng mau mbayar sratós lima pulu ribu, [J] yho ñambót gawé, Ma.
10. C: Lha Swi itu [J] rong atós pétóng póló limo é.
11. B: [M] Swi ini gini lhó, rungoqno. Swi itu kan sda [D] æotkhestüürt næær bætenlant dóór Yhó Han. [M] Dèqé ngerti pekoro [D] howt. [M] Lha ini kan mau mbékén [D] howten hæsen, [M] to?
12. C: Heqe.
13. B: Yha itu bejoné Swi dèqé di-[D] æotstüüren [M] mbéq Yhó Han itu.
14. C: Lha yha.
15. B: Cobaq Ès Té Èm byasa, yha mosoq orang mau mbayar dèqé [D] twéé hondert?
16. C: Ndaq mau sé.
17. B: Ndaq ada orang Ès Té Èm dibayar [D] twéé hondert. [M] Paléng [H] nggo mban.
18. C: [M] Lha dèqé sda pigi [D] Dæetslant [M] tu ...
19. B: Lha dèqé mungkén suda ngerti carané itu. Kan dèqé ada sana blajar staón pa? Blajar pekoro kayu tu lhó.
20. A: Apa yha blajar pekoro kayu, yha ndaq isa tau, Ciq Syan. Dateng sana ... Ndaq sana, yha, meséné
6. B: *No, the guy who paid you must have thought, he found it too expensive. He must have thought, for someone to just take care of the lubricating oil pumps, Rp15,000 or Rp25,000 should be enough. Why should he pay Rp100,000. Right? So he was probably looking for ...*
7. C: *How come Uncle Céng said, "If you can get a job that pays Rp150,000, take it." How come he said that?*
8. B: *Who's paying Rp150,000?*
9. A: *Who'd pay that much, Mum? If there's someone who'd pay me Rp150,000, I'd damned well work, Mum.*
10. C: *But Swi's getting Rp275,000, you know.*
11. B: *Listen, Swi's case is like this. He was sent abroad by Yhó Han. He knows about wood. And this company is going to make wooden houses, right?*
12. C: *Hm.*
13. B: *Well, it was Swi's good luck that Yhó Han sent him abroad.*
14. C: *That's it.*
15. B: *If he were a mere Technical Senior High School graduate, who would want to pay him Rp200,000?*
16. C: *Of course they wouldn't.*
17. B: *No Technical Senior High School graduates get paid Rp200,000. At the most they would get Rp50,000.*
18. C: *But he's been to Germany ...*
19. B: *Perhaps he knows about the methods of woodworking. Didn't he study it for a year there? He studied about wood, you know.*
20. A: *Well, we don't know if he studied about wood, Sis. From there ... We don't know if he*

- sitoq, satu per satu yha ndaq tau.
21. B: Lha perlu apa gi [D] bætenlant ...
22. A: [M] Apaqo? Cumaq ninjow toq cara-carané kerja ...
23. B: Lhó, ndaq ninjow dèqé itu ...
24. C: Piro-piro bulan nèq ninjow, ndaq sebulan kléléng.
25. B: Ndaq. Dèqé mbéq [D] Dæotser [M] itu, mbéq ada anu, [D] en Syinéés [M] lagi. Lha dèqé ngongkosi piro, nèq [D] yhé [J] kiro-kiro, [D] yhé.
26. A: [M] Maq piro, dua bulan apa piro.
27. B: Lhóó. Dua bulan. Staón mèan Swi ndéq sana.
28. C: Ó, lebih. Wong dèqé ini jangé pulang apa gitu, terós diteró-sno lagi sampéq [D] Fébrüari [M] éq. Yha?
29. B: Yha. Sué. Ambéq itu orang tiga, dèqé itu. [D] En Dæotser, [M] éngkóné itu, trós dèqé ...
30. A: Gini lhó. Itu, Ko Yhó Han dulu mau ndatengno mesén dateng sana ... Mau ndatengno mesén dateng sana ...
31. B: Lhó, lha iyha. Mau mbékén itu lhó, [D] tékhel [M] dari kayu itu lhó, mbéq pigura.
32. A: Cumaq cara, suru, Swi suru ninjow caracarané anu ...
33. B: Yha blajar. Kok ninjow, Té. Nèq ninjow, orang [J] yho ndeloq toq, [M] gitu. Ninjow itu orang liaq toq. Mesén mosoq ...
- studied the machines one by one there.*
21. B: *Then what else did he go abroad for ...*
22. A: *What? He was there just to observe the methods of working ...*
23. B: *Wait a minute, he didn't just observe ...*
24. C: *He made observations for months and months, and he only traveled for a month.*
15. B: *No. He went with that German, and there was also you know, another Chinese. How much did he spend, just estimate it, you know.*
26. A: *He was there for only two months or something like that.*
27. B: *Wait a minute. Two months! Swi was there for almost a year.*
28. C: *Oh, more than that. The thing is, he was about to go home, or something like that, but he stayed on until February, you know. Right?*
29. B: *Yes. A long time. There were three of them. A German, the partner, and himself ...*
30. A: *It's like this, you know. Yhó Han wanted to import machines from there ... He wanted to import machines from there ...*
31. B: *That's it, you know. He wanted to make, you know, wooden tiles, and picture frames.*
32. A: *It was only the method, he told, he told Swi to observe the methods of, you know ...*
33. B: *Well, he had to learn them. How come you call it just to observe, Té. If you make observations, you just look at things, like that. If you make observations, you just look at things. Machines, you can't*
- ...

34. A: Mesén kayu ... Mosoq suru mbékén mesén kayu. Yha ndaq kiro.
34. A: *Woodworking machines ... He wasn't sent to construct wood-working machines. That can't be.*
35. C: Ndaq mbékén mesén kayu. Békén kayuné.
35. C: *He didn't make woodworking machines. He made woodwork products.*
36. A: Lhó iyha, masi mbékén kayué, cara-carané nglayani meséné.
36. A: *All right, even if he made woodwork products, it was only how to operate the machines.*
37. C: Nèq ndaq blajar, yaqapa carané?
37. C: *If you don't learn that, how could you operate them?*
38. A: Yha itu, cumaq nglayani, cara-carané nglayani meséné.
38. A: *That's it, it was just how to operate, the methods of operating the machines.*
40. B: Lha yha, nèq ada séng rusaq ...
40. B: *That's it, suppose something goes wrong ...*
41. A: Nèq ada kersaqaan, ntiq apané, apané.
41. A: *If something goes wrong, then he'd know which part it is, you know.*
42. B: Yhó Han mbayari, [J] sewulan [M] ndéq luar negeri itu? Lha dèqé itu skarang ndéq kantor cumaq kontrole toq. Nèq kerja yha ... Ada [D] énsiñør-[M]é apa lhó, Swi. Dèqé itu dida-deqno kepalaqé ndéq situ.
42. B: *How much did Yhó Han spend on him abroad? Now he's only a supervisor at the office. If he has to work, well ... They have engineers and stuff, you know, working for Swi. He's been made the chief there.*
43. C: Cumaq nèq orang laén yha daq énaq, yha, ninggal, wong suruane Yhó Han, yha?
43. C: *But it would be embarrassing to leave like that, after all he'd been sent by Yhó Han, hadn't he?*
44. B: Lha Yhó Han [D] whél nit méér betælen [M] koq, suda gitari dèqé. Swi ndaq cókóp, Mam, nèq segitu.
44. B: *But Yhó Han didn't want to pay more, you know. Swi had asked him. It wasn't enough for him, Mum.*
45. A: Lhó, yha, tapi saqbetólé daq bólé. Nèq menurót ... Nèq menurót aturan umóm ...
45. A: *That's right, but actually he shouldn't have done that. According to ... According to public standards ...*
46. B: Tau, TéK.
46. B: *I know, TéK.*
47. A: Lhó, itu gini, yha.
47. A: *You know, the thing's like this.*
48. B: Wong kontrak. Itu ndaq kontrak. Ndaq ada kontrak.
48. B: *But then people sign contracts. And Swi didn't. There was no contract.*
49. A: Yha salané itu. Ko Yhó Han yha salané itu.
49. A: *That was the mistake. That was Yhó Han's mistake.*

50. B: Lhó, nèq [D] yhé [M] pakéq kontrak, yha ...
51. A: Tapi peraturan laéné, [D] yhé whort ætkhestüürt, [M] yha, umpama skarang [D] ék whort ætkhestüürt nær Dætslant [M] apa gitu, yha ... Skarang monggoqo brenti, [D] ék [M] musti ngganti krugiané ...
52. B: Nèq pakéq kontrak. Koq kadóng ndaq pakéq kontrak, mau dia-paqno, [D] yhé?
53. A: Sbape Swi ambéq Ko Yhó Han kan séq sudara, sudara.
54. C: Yha, sudara ...
55. A: Nèq ndaq sudara, kabè orang yha mesti kontrak sé. Hayó.
56. C: "Swi isa olè bayaran lebih akè, yha sókór," Ko Yhó Han ...
57. B: Wong Gwaté sda ngrèlaqno, [J] "Nèq kwé iso olè akè, yho ..."
58. A: [M] Lha ndaq ngrelaqno, mau diapaqno? Mau suru ngganti yha ndaq isa. Apané ...? Paléng ndaq, mestiné, yha ... Mestiné ... Umpama, yha, skarang ... Swi umpama skarang diambéq prusaqan, kerjaqan prusaqan [D] Niiw Séélant, [M] yha prusaqan itu mesti ngganti ongkos-ongkosé.
59. B: Yha ndaq mau, si [D] Niiw Séélant.
60. A: [M] Lha mangkané itu. Lha skarang nèq Swi suru ngganti, yha terang ndaq bisa, to? Lógikaña, pèndèqé, poḍo aé, skarang tukang bècaq ...
61. C: Ndaq apa-apa mergo dólór déwé.
62. A: Iyha. Lhó, ndaq, nèq umpama orang laén ... Nèq umpama orang laén, [D] lókhika-[M]ña, yha ...
50. B: *Well, if you sign a contract, well ...*
51. A: *But by other standards, if you've been sent by somebody, let's say I've been sent to Germany or something like that, well ... Now if I resign, I must pay a compensation ...*
52. B: *If there's a contract. What can you do if there's none?*
53. A: *It's all right because Swi's related to Yhó Han, they're related.*
54. C: *Well, they can be related ...*
55. A: *Unless they're related, you have to sign a contract, everybody has. There.*
56. C: *"If Swi can earn more, then that's his good luck," Yhó Han ...*
57. B: *After all, Gwat has accepted it, "If you can earn a lot, well ..."*
58. A: *What could she do but accept? He can't pay a compensation. What ...? At least, he should have, you know ... He should have ... Let's say, well, now ... Let's say Swi's hired by another company, he gets a job with a New Zealand company, then the company should reimburse all the expenses.*
59. B: *Well, of course the New Zealander doesn't want to.*
60. A: *That's it. Now if Swi is to pay a compensation, clearly he can't do that, can he? The logic, in short, is just like, now a pedicab driver ...*
61. C: *Well, it's all right because they're all related.*
62. A: *Yes. Wait, no, suppose it's an outsider ... Suppose it's an outsider, the logic, well ...*

63. C: Tèken kontrak dulu.

64. A: Umpama sga kontrak, yha, diam-béq ambéq prusaqan laén, prusaqan la-, Swi ngganti krugiané séng apa dèqé, dikluarno slama dèqé blajar déq [D] Dœtslant, to? [M] Lha skarang nèq Swi umpama ndaq bisa ... Prusaqan itu mesti nanggóng, mbalèqno ongkos-ongkosé apa séng diku-arno mbéq Swi sé. Itu cara-carané.

63. C: *He should sign a contract.*

64. A: *Suppose there's a contract, right, then he's hired by another company, another comp-, Swi should reimburse whatever was spent on him all the time he was studying in Germany, shouldn't he? And let's say Swi cannot ... The other company must take it up, reimburse all the expenses incurred by Swi. That's the way to do things.*

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### ABBREVIATIONS

BB	<i>Bahasa dan Budaja</i>
BijdrTLV	<i>Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde</i>
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
BT	<i>Bintang Timur</i>
FEER	<i>Far Eastern Economic Review</i>
IG	<i>De Indische Gids</i>
IMT	<i>Indisch Militair Tijdschrift</i>
IQ	<i>The Indonesian Quarterly</i>
JAS	<i>Journal of Asian Studies</i>
JMBRAS	<i>Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JSEAS	<i>Journal of Southeast Asian Studies</i>
JSI	<i>Journal of Social Issues</i>
JSSS	<i>Journal of the South Seas Society</i>
KITLV	<i>Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde</i>
KS	<i>Koloniale Studiën</i>
LT	<i>Levende Talen</i>
PFEH	<i>Papers in Far Eastern History</i>
PL	<i>Pacific Linguistics</i>
RIMA	<i>Review of Indonesian and Malayan Affairs</i>
RSEA	<i>Revue du Sud-Est Asiatique</i>
TBG	<i>Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen</i>
TNI	<i>Tijdschrift van Nederlandsch-Indië</i>
TP	<i>T'oung Pao</i>
VBG	<i>Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen</i>
VKI	<i>Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde</i>

### ALBRECHT, J.E.

- 1879      *Het schoolonderwijs onder de Chineezzen op Java. Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 25:225-241; translated as *L'instruction primaire chez les Chinois de l'île de Java* by A. Marre. *Annales de l'Extrême Orient*, offprint, 1881.

### ALGADRI, Hamid

- 1976      *Proses integrasi keturunan Arab hanya terganggu oleh undang-undang kolonial. Prisma* 5/8:52-55.

### ALISARDJONO, Wirjono

- n.d.      *Himpunan nama<sup>2</sup> Indonesia: putra-putri. Surabaya: Pertjetakan Amphuh.*

## ALISJAHBANA, S. Takdir

- 1956      *Sedjarah bahasa Indonesia*. Jakarta: Pustaka Rakjat.
- 1957      Kedudukan bahasa Melaju-Tionghoa. In S. Takdir Alisjahbana, ed. *Dari perdjungan dan pertumbuhan bahasa Indonesia*, 55-61. Jakarta: Pustaka Rakjat.
- 1962      *Indonesian language and literature: two essays*. Cultural report series No.11. New Haven.
- 1971      Language policy, language engineering and literacy: Indonesia and Malaysia. In Thomas Sebeok, ed. *Current trends in linguistics*, vol.8/2:1087-1109. The Hague: Mouton.
- 1976      *Language planning for modernization: the case of Indonesia and Malaysia*. Contributions to the sociology of language, 14. The Hague: Mouton.

## ANDERSON, Benedict R.O'G.

- 1966      The languages of Indonesian politics. *Indonesia* 1:89-116.
- 1978      Cartoons and monuments: the evolution of political communication under the New Order. In Karl D. Jackson and Lucian W. Pye, eds *Political power and communications in Indonesia*, 282-321. Berkeley: University of California Press. Originally published as Notes on contemporary Indonesian political communication, in *Indonesia* 16 (1973), 39-80.
- 1982a      Perspective and method in American research on Indonesia. In Benedict Anderson and Audrey Kahin, eds *Interpreting Indonesian politics: thirteen contributions to the debate*, 69-83. Modern Indonesia Project interim reports series. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Southeast Asia Program.
- 1982b      Sembah-sumpah, politik bahasa dan kebudayaan Jawa. *Prisma* 11/11: 69-96.
- 1983      Old state, new society: Indonesia's New Order in comparative historical perspective. *JAS* 42:477-496.

## ATLAS INDONESIA DAN DUNIA

- n.d.      Jakarta: Yayasan Pelita.

## ATMOWISASTRO, Machmud and SUTISNADI

- 1975      *Mengenal daerah Kabupaten/Kodya Pasuruan*. Bangil: Toko Buku Cendrawasih.

## AWANOHARA, Susumu

- 1984a      Where there's a will ...: Murdani and Foreign Minister Mochtar appear united in the latest friendly approach to Vietnam. *FEER* 1 March.
- 1984b      Murdani's modification. *FEER* 8 March.

## BADAN KOMUNIKASI PENGHAYATAN KESATUAN BANGSA

- 1981      *Asimilasi dan Islam*. Jakarta.

## BADIB, Abbas A.

- 1980      Some major constructions in Javanese: a lexicase approach. Ph.D. thesis, Monash University. To be published in *PL*.

BAKER, Hugh D.R.

- 1979 *Chinese family and kinship*. New York: Columbia University Press.

BAKS, C.

- 1970 Chinese communities in East Java. *Asian Studies* 8:248-259.

BANNINK, C.J.A.

- 1915 De Maleische taal en het Indische leger. *IMT* 46:569-595.

BARCLAY, Thomas

- 1923 *Supplement to dictionary of the vernacular or spoken language of Amoy* [Douglas 1899]. Shanghai: The Commercial Press.

BARTH, F., ed.

- 1969 *Ethnic groups and boundaries: the social organization of cultural difference*. Boston: Little, Brown.

BAUMAN, R. and J. SHERZER, eds

- 1974 *Explorations in the ethnography of speaking*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

BAUSANI, Alessandro

- 1960 The first Italian-Malay vocabulary by Antonio Pigafetta. *East and West*, new series 11:229-248.

BEIJING daxue zhongguo yuyan wenxue xi, yuyanxue jiaoyanshi 北京大学中国语言文学系、语言学教研室

- 1962 *Hanyu fangyin zihui* 汉语方音字汇. Peking: Wenzi gaige chubanshe 文字改革出版社.

- 1964 *Hanyu fangyan cihui* 汉语方言词汇. Peking: Wenzi gaige chubanshe 文字改革出版社.

BEIJING waiguoyu xueyuan yingyuxi "Hanying cidian" bianxiezu  
北京外国语学院英语系 <汉英词典>编写组

- 1981 *The Pinyin Chinese-English dictionary* 汉英词典. Hong Kong: 商务印书馆.

BELL, Roger T.

- 1976 *Sociolinguistics: goals, approaches and problems*. London: B.T. Batsford Ltd.

B

- 1856 Beschrijving van de koffy- en suikercultuur in het plat Maleisch en Javaansch, met aantekeningen. *BijdrTLV* 5/1:235-269.

BIRO PUSAT STATISTIK

- 1980 *Penduduk Cina Jawa Madura: hasil registrasi penduduk akhir tahun: 1977-1978/Chinese population of Java-Madura: results of population registration, end of year: 1977-1978*. Jakarta.

BLAGDEN, C.O.

- 1930 Two Malay letters from Ternate in the Moluccas, written in 1521 and 1522 (with 2 plates). *BSOAS* 6:87-101.



BLANQUAERT, E.

- 1957 *Praktische uitspraakleer van de Nederlandse taal*. Antwerp: Uitgeverij De Sikkel N.V.

BLOM, Jan-Petter and John J. GUMPERZ

- 1971 Social meaning in linguistic structure: code-switching in Norway. In Gumperz 1971a, 274-310; also in Gumperz and Hymes, eds 1972, 407-434.

BOACHI, Aquasie

- 1856 Mededeelingen over de Chineezers op het eiland Java. *BijdrTLV* 4: 278-301.

BODMAN, Nicholas C.

- 1955 *Spoken Amoy Hokkien*. 2 vols. Kuala Lumpur: Charles Grenier.

BOLINGER, Dwight

- 1975 *Aspects of language*. 2nd edn. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

BOXER, C.R.

- 1965 *The Dutch seaborne empire: 1600-1800*. London: Hutchison.

BRANDES, J.

- 1902 Lo Tong, een Javaansche reflex van een chineeschen ridder-roman. *TBG* 45/3:263-271.

BRENNER, Suzanne

- 1983 Once a Chinese, ...: Pribumi perceptions of the Chinese in Java. Unpublished paper.

BROWN, Penelope and Steven LEVINSON

- 1978 Universals in language usage: politeness. In Esther N. Goody, ed. *Questions and politeness: strategies in social interaction*, 56-289, 295-310. Cambridge Papers in social anthropology No.8. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

BROWN, Roger W. and A. GILMAN

- 1960 The pronouns of power and solidarity. In T. Sebeok, ed. *Style and language*, 253-276. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press. Also in Fishman, ed. 1968, 252-275; and in Giglioli, ed. 1972, 252-282.

BRUGGENCATE, K. ten

- 1969 *Engels woordenboek*, vol.2: *Nederlands-Engels*. 16e druk, bewerkt door R.W. Zandvoort et al. Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff N.V.

BRUGMANS, I.J.

- 1937 De verbreiding van de Nederlandsche taal in Indië. *KS* 21/1:42-62.

BURLING, Robbins

- 1970 *Man's many voices: language in its cultural context*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

CÁRDENAS, Daniel N.

- 1970 *Dominant Spanish dialects spoken in the United States*. Washington, D.C.: ERIC.

## CAREY, Peter

- 1984 Changing Javanese perceptions of the Chinese communities in Central Java, 1755-1825. *Indonesia* 37:1-47.

## CATOR, W.

- 1936 *The economic position of the Chinese in the Netherlands Indies*. Oxford: Blackwell.

## CENSE, A.A.

- 1978 Maleische invloeden in de oostelijke deel van de Indonesische archipel. *BijdrTLV* 134:415-432.

## CHAMBERT-LOIR, Henri, ed.

- 1980 *Sastra: introduction à la littérature indonésienne contemporaine*. Cahier d'archipel 11. Paris: Association Archipel.

## CHAO, Yuen Ren

- 1968 *A grammar of spoken Chinese*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- 1976a *Aspects of Chinese sociolinguistics*. Selected and introduced by Anwar S. Dil. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.
- 1976b Chinese terms of address. In Chao 1976a, 309-342; also in *Language* 32/1:217-241 (1956).
- 1976c Languages and dialects in China. In Chao 1976a, 21-25; also in *The geographical journal* 102/2:63-66 (1943).
- 1976d Some contrastive aspects of the Chinese national language movement. In Chao 1976a, 97-105; also in *Monda lingvo-problemo* 3/7:31-39 (1971).

## CHENG, Chin-chuan

- 1973 *A synchronic phonology of Mandarin Chinese*. The Hague: Mouton.

## CHINESE BOOKS SEIZED

- 1979 *The Southeast Asia Record*, week of 3 August 1979.

## CHIU BIEN-MING

- 1931 The phonetic structure and tone behaviour of Hagu (commonly known as the Amoy dialect) and their relation to certain questions in Chinese linguistics. *TP* 28:245-342.

## CLARK, Hugh R.

- 1982 Quanzhou (Fujian) during the Tang-Song interregnum, 879-978. *TP* 68:1-3, 132-149.

## COBARRUBIAS, Juan

- 1983 Ethical issues in status planning. In Juan Cobarrubias and Joshua A. Fishman, eds *Progress in language planning*, 41-85. Hawthorne, N.Y.: Mouton Publishers.

## COLLINS, James T.

- 1983a Malaysian and Bazaar Malay: polarity, continuity and communication. Paper delivered at Conference on National Language and Communication in Multilingual Societies, Kuala Lumpur.

- 1983b Penggolongan bahasa Bacan. *Nusantara* 10:86-125.

COPPEL, Charles A.

- 1972 The position of the Chinese in the Philippines, Malaysia and Indonesia. In Hugh Mabbett and Ping-Ching Mabbett, eds *The Chinese in Indonesia, the Philippines and Malaysia*, 16-29. Minority Rights Group report No.10. London: Minority Rights Group.
- 1973 Mapping the *Peranakan* Chinese in Indonesia. *PFEH* 8:143-167.
- 1975 The Indonesian Chinese in the sixties: a study of an ethnic minority in a period of turbulent political change. Ph.D. thesis, Monash University.
- 1977a The Chinese minority: politics or culture? In Leonard Andaya et al., eds *People and society in Indonesia: a biographical approach*, 12-30. Clayton, Victoria: Monash University.
- 1977b Studying the Chinese minorities: a review. Review of Somers 1974. *Indonesia* 24:175-183.
- 1981 The origins of Confucianism as an organized religion in Java, 1900-1923. *JSEAS* 12/1:179-196.
- 1983 *Indonesian Chinese in crisis*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.

COPPEL, Charles A. and Leo SURYADINATA

- 1978 The use of the terms "Tjina" and "Tionghoa" in Indonesia: an historical survey. In Suryadinata 1978a, 113-128; also in *PFEH* 2:97-118.

DAMAI, L.Ch.

- 1950 Les formes de politesse en javanais moderne. *Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Indochinoises* 25:263-280.

DeCAMP, David

- 1971 Toward a generative analysis of a post-creole speech continuum. In Hymes, ed. 1971, 349-370.

DIJK, Cees van

- 1981 Major political developments in Indonesia in the second half of 1980: crime prevention, anti-Chinese riots and the PDI Party Congress. *RIMA* 15/1:93-125.

DISITA KEJAKSAAN AGUNG

- 1979 *Kompas* 7 October 1979.

DOMIS, H.I.

- 1836 *De residentie Passoeroeang op het eiland Java*. The Hague: H.S.J. de Groot.

DONGNANYA yuwen yanjiusuo 东南亚语文研究所

- 1976 *Kamus bahasa Indonesia-Tiong Hoa dengan ejaan baru* 最新拼音法印度尼西亚语汉语词典. Hong Kong: 南国出版社.

DOUGLAS, Carstairs

- 1899 *Chinese-English dictionary of the vernacular or spoken language of Amoy, with the principal variations of the Chang-Chew and Chin-*

*Chew dialects*. London: Publishing House of the Presbyterian Church of England.

DREWES, Gerardus W.J.

- 1934      *De strijd om de persvrijheid en de oudste inlandsche couranten.*  
KS 18:1-36.
- 1948      *Van Maleis naar basa Indonesia*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- 1949      *De rol van het Maleis in Indonesië.* LT, 7-25.

DREYFUSS, Gail R. and Djoehana OKA

- 1979      *Chinese Indonesian: a new kind of language hybrid.* PL, A-57:  
247-274.

DUDAS, Karen M.

- 1976      *The phonology and morphology of modern Javanese.* Ph.D. thesis,  
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

ECK, R. van

- 1883      *Schetsen uit het volksleven in Nederl. Oost-Indië XIV: de talen  
van Indië.* IG 5/1:146-170.

EDWARDS, E.D. and C.O. BLAGDEN

- 1931      *A Chinese vocabulary of Malacca Malay words and phrases collected  
between A.D. 1403 and 1511(?).* BSOAS 6:715-749.

EIJKMAN, L.P.H.

- 1937      *Phonetiek van het Nederlands.* Haarlem: De Erven F. Bohn N.V.

ELSON, Robert

- 1978      *The impact of sugar cultivation in the Pasuruan area, East Java,  
during the Cultivation System period.* RIMA 12/1:26-55.
- 1979a      *Cane-burning in the Pasuruan area: an expression of social dis-  
content.* In F. van Anrooij et al., eds *Between people and  
statistics: essays on modern Indonesian history presented to P.  
Creutzberg*, 219-233. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- 1979b      *Sugar and peasants: the social impact of the Western sugar industry  
on the peasantry of the Pasuruan area, East Java, from the Culti-  
vation System to the Great Depression.* Ph.D. thesis, Monash  
University.

EMBREE, Bernard L.M.

- 1973      *A dictionary of Southern Min.* Hong Kong: Hong Kong Language  
Institute.

EMEIS, M.G.

- 1949      *Maleis en Indonesisch. Wegens zijn bijzondere verdienste opgedragen  
aan Prof. Mr. J. Ph. Suyling door de Indologische Faculteit te  
Utrecht*, 135-150. Amsterdam.

ERRINGTON, J. Joseph

- 1981      *Changing speech levels among a traditional Javanese elite group.*  
Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago.

ESMAN, Milton J.

- 1975 Communal conflict in Southeast Asia. In Glazer and Moynihan, eds 1975, 391-419.

FASSEUR, C.

- 1975 *Kultuurstelsel en koloniale baten: de Nederlandse exploitatie van Java 1840-1860*. Leiden: Universitaire Pers Leiden.

FERGUSON, Charles A.

- 1959 Diglossia. *Word* 15:325-340; also in Hymes, ed. 1964, 429-439, and Giglioli, ed. 1972, 232-251.
- 1971 Absence of copula and the notion of simplicity: a study of normal speech, baby talk, foreign talk, and pidgins. In Hymes, ed. 1971, 141-150.

FISHMAN, Joshua A.

- 1965 Who speaks what language to whom and when? *La Linguistique* 2: 67-88; also in Pride and Holmes, eds 1972, 15-32.
- 1967 Bilingualism with and without diglossia; diglossia with and without bilingualism. *JSI* 23/2 (April):29-38.
- 1971 *Sociolinguistics: a brief introduction*. Rowley: Newbury House.
- 1977 Language and ethnicity. In H. Giles, ed. *Language, ethnicity and intergroup relations*, 15-57. London: Academic Press.

FISHMAN, Joshua A., ed.

- 1968 *Readings in the sociology of language*. The Hague: Mouton.

FRANCKEN, J.J.C. and C.F.M. DE GRIJS

- 1882 *Chineesch-Hollandsch woordenboek van het Emoi dialect*. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij.

FRANKE, Wolfgang

- 1974 Chinese epigraphy in Indonesia: a preliminary report. *JSSS* 29/1 and 2:31-45.

FREEDMAN, Maurice

- 1979 The Chinese in Southeast Asia: a longer view. In *The study of Chinese society: essays by Maurice Freedman*, selected and introduced by G. William Skinner, 3-21. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

FRIEDRICH, Paul

- 1972 Social context and semantic feature: the Russian pronominal usage. In Gumperz and Hymes, eds 1972, 270-300.

FROMBERG, P.H.

- 1926 *Verspreide geschriften*, comp. by Chung Hwa Hui, *Chineesche Vereeniging in Nederland*. Leiden: Leidsche Uitgeversmaatschappij.

GEERTZ, Clifford

- 1960 *The religion of Java*. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press.

- 1963      *Peddlers and princes: social change and economic modernization in two Indonesian towns.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- GEERTZ, Hildred
- 1961      *The Javanese family: a study of kinship and socialization.* New York: The Free Press of Glencoe.
- GEUS, A. de and J.J.M. van DAM
- 1930      *Indische fouten (een hulpboekje bij alle nederlandsche spraak-kunsten) ten dienste van het voortgezet onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië.* 3e herziene druk. Weltevreden: N.V. Boekhandel Visser & Co.
- GIGLIOLI, P.P., ed.
- 1972      *Language and social context.* Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin.
- GILES, H.
- 1979      Ethnicity markers in speech. In Scherer and Giles, 1979, 251-290.
- GLAZER, Nathan and Daniel P. MOYNIHAN, eds
- 1975      *Ethnicity: theory and experience.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- GO GIEN TJWAN
- 1966      *Eenheid in verscheidenheid in een Indonesisch dorp.* Amsterdam: Sociologisch-Historisch Seminarium voor Zuidoost Azië, Universiteit van Amsterdam.
- GONDA, J.
- 1948      The Javanese vocabulary of courtesy. *Lingua* 1:333-376.
- GROENEVELDT, W.P.
- 1960      *Historical notes on Indonesia & Malaya compiled from Chinese sources.* Jakarta: Bhratara; originally published as Notes on the Malay Archipelago compiled from Chinese sources. VBG 39 (1880).
- GROOT, J.J.M. de
- 1885      *Het kongsiwezen van Borneo: eene verhandeling over den aard der Chineesche politieke vereeniging in de koloniën, met eene Chineesche geschiedenis van de kongsi Lanfong.* The Hague: Nijhoff.
- GUMPERZ, John J.
- 1962      Types of linguistic community. *Anthropological Linguistics* 4:28-40; also in Fishman, ed. 1968, 460-472, and Gumperz 1971a, 97-113.
- 1968      The speech community. *International encyclopedia of the social sciences*, 381-386. London: Macmillan, also in Gumperz 1971a, 114-128, and Giglioli, ed. 1972, 219-231.
- 1971a      *Language in social groups.* Selected and introduced by Anwar S. Dil. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.
- 1971b      Hindi-Punjabi code-switching in Delhi. In Gumperz 1971a, 205-219; also in H. Lunt, ed. 1964 *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Linguists*, 1115-1124. The Hague: Mouton.

- 1971c Linguistic and social interaction in two communities. In Gumperz 1971a, 151-176; also in Gumperz and Hymes, eds 1964, 137-153.
- 1971d Linguistic repertoires, grammars, and second language instruction. In Gumperz 1971a, 177-189; also in *Monograph No.18, Report of the Sixteenth Annual Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Language Study*, 1966, 81-91. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- 1982 *Discourse strategies*. Studies in interactional sociolinguistics 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- GUMPERZ, John J., ed.
- 1982 *Language and social identity*. Studies in interactional sociolinguistics 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- GUMPERZ, John J. and Jenny COOK-GUMPERZ
- 1982 Introduction: language and the communication of social identity. In Gumperz, ed. 1982, 1-21.
- GUMPERZ, John J. and Dell H. HYMES, eds
- 1964 *The ethnography of communication*. *American Anthropologist* 66, special publication.
- 1972 *Directions in sociolinguistics: the ethnography of communication*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- HAAN, F. de
- 1935 *Oud Batavia*. 2e herziene druk. Bandung: A.C. Nix.
- HABBEMA, J.
- 1907 Maleisch of Hollandsch, in de kazerne? *IG* 29/1:372-382.
- HALIM, Amran, ed.
- 1976 *Politik bahasa nasional*. 2 vols. Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.
- H
- 1950 *Hari-ulang ke-50 Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan Djakarta, 3 Juni 1900-3 Juni 1950 椰域中华会馆五十週年紀余刊 一九〇〇年六月三日-一九五〇年六月三日*. Jakarta: Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan.
- HARIAN INDONESIA, filter terhadap suratkabar asing
- 1982 *Kompas* 10 November 1982.
- HARTONO, Chris
- 1974 Gerakan keesaan gereja-gereja berlatar belakang Tionghoa. *Peninjau* 1/2:119-161.
- HASHIMOTO, Mantaro J.
- 1973 *The Hakka dialect: a linguistic study of its phonology, syntax and lexicon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- HAUGEN, Einar
- 1956 *Bilingualism in the Americas: a bibliography and research guide*. Publication No.26 of the American Dialect Society, University of Alabama. University of Alabama Press.

HECHTER, Michael

- 1978 Considerations on Western European ethnoregionalism. Paper presented at conference on Ethnicity and Economic Development, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, October 1978.

HENDRATI, Pauline R.

- 1975 *Daftar kepustakaan selektif tentang golongan etnis Tionghoa di Indonesia sejak 1945*. Jakarta: Leknas-LIPI.

HIDAJAT, Z.M.

- 1977 *Masyarakat dan kebudayaan Cina Indonesia*. Bandung: Penerbit Tarsito.

HINLOOPEN LABBERTON, D. van

- 1900 Het Javaansch van Malang-Pasoeroehan. VBG 51/3:1-31.

HOETINK, B.

- 1917 So Bing Kong, het eerste hoofd der Chineezen te Batavia, 1619-1636. *BijdrTLV* 73:344-415.  
 1918 Ni Hoekong, kapitein der Chineezen te Batavia in 1740. *BijdrTLV* 74:447-518.  
 1922 Chineesche officieren te Batavia onder de Compagnie. *BijdrTLV* 78: 1-136.

HOFFMAN, John

- 1979 A foreign investment: Indies Malay to 1901. *Indonesia* 27:65-92.

HOLTVAST, K.

- 1938 *Beknopte Nederlandse spraakkunst*. Groningen: P. Noordhoff N.V.

HORNE, Elinor C.

- 1961 *Beginning Javanese*. New Haven: Yale University Press.  
 1963 *Intermediate Javanese*. New Haven: Yale University Press.  
 1974 *Javanese-English dictionary*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

HOROWITZ, Donald L.

- 1975 Ethnic identity. In Glazer and Moynihan, eds 1975, 111-140.

HUDSON, R.A.

- 1980 *Sociolinguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

HUMAS PEMKAB DATI II PASURUAN

- 1983 *Siaran pers Kab. Dati II Pasuruan*.

HYMES, Dell H.

- 1962 The ethnography of speaking. In Thomas Gladwin and W.C. Sturtevant, eds *Anthropology and human behavior*, 13-53. Anthropological Society of Washington, D.C.  
 1972 Models of the interaction of language and social life. In Gumperz and Hymes, eds 1972, 35-71.  
 1974 *Foundations in sociolinguistics: an ethnographic approach*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.



HYMES, Dell H., ed.

1964 *Language in culture and society*. New York: Harper & Row.

1971 *Pidginization and creolization of languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

IKRANAGARA, Kay

1980 *Melayu Betawi grammar*. NUSA 9.

INSTRUKSI PRESIDUM KABINET:

1966 penggolongan penduduk hanya dibagi atas warganegara Indonesia dan orang asing: RUU Tjatatatan Sipil jg. umum dan nasional sedang disusun. Prosedur gantnama bagi W.N.I. keturunan asing. *Kompas* 28 December 1966.

INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC ASSOCIATION

1949 *The principles of the IPA*. London: University College.

JONES, Gavin

1976 Religion and education in Indonesia. *Indonesia* 22:19-56.

KAHIN, George McT.

1952 *Nationalism and revolution in Indonesia*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

KAI BA LI DAI SHIJI 开吧历代史记

1840 Translated by W.H. Medhurst as Chronologische geschiedenis van Batavia geschreven door een Chinees. *TNI* 3/2 (1840):1-113.

KAOS bertulisan aksara Cina diteliti Kejawung

1983 *Surabaya Post* 2 June 1983.

KARTOMIHARDJO, Soeseno

1981 *Ethnography of communicative codes in East Java*. PL, D-39.

KARTAWINATA, Handiyo

1984 Linguistic description of Indonesian-Chinese Malay. M.A. thesis, University of Sydney.

KATS, J.

1916 Dewi Çrî. *TBG* 57:177-199.

1929 *Serat warna sari Djawi*. 2nd edn. Weltevreden: Visser.

KATS, J. and M. KOESRIN

1921-29 *Spraakkunst en taaleigen van het Javaansch*. 2e, geheel omgewerkte, druk. Weltevreden: Visser & Co.

KEE KUM PING and James T. COLLINS, compilers

1981 *Bibliografi dialek Melayu dan bahasa serumpun di Nusantara/ Bibliography on Malay dialects and related languages in the Malay Archipelago*. Bangi: Perpustakaan Tun Seri Lanang, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

## KEMASANG, A.R.T.

- 1982 The 1740 massacre of Chinese in Java: curtain raiser for the Dutch plantation economy. *Bulletin of concerned Asian scholars* 14/1:61-71.

## KHOUW ENG SOEI

- 1936 Over de psychologie der Peranakkans, hun zeden en gewoonten (I). *Tijdschrift voor zendingwetenschap "Mededelingen"* 80:212-225.

## KILIAAN, H.N.

- 1919 *Javaansche spraakkunst*. The Hague: M. Nijhoff.

## KJAH I GOEROE [pseudonym of D.F. van der PANT]

- 1879 Europeesch brabbelmaleisch in het Indische leger. *IMT* 10/2:71-90.

## KOENTJARANINGRAT, R.M.

- 1957 *A preliminary description of the Javanese kinship system*. Yale University Southeast Asia studies, cultural report series 4.
- 1976 Kecurigaan adalah hambatan bagi integrasi. *Prisma* 5/8:44-48.

## KRUISINGA, E.

- 1949 *A grammar of modern Dutch*. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.

## KUBLER, Cornelius C.

- 1980 Language contact in Taiwan. *Cornell working papers in linguistics* 1:138-152.

## KUMAR, Ann

- 1976 *Surapati: man and legend: a study of three babad traditions*. Australian National University Centre of Oriental Studies, Oriental monograph series, No.20. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

## KWEE, John B.

- 1977 Chinese-Malay literature of the Peranakan Chinese in Indonesia, 1880-1942. Ph.D. thesis, Auckland University.

## KWEE KEK BENG

- 1936 Het culturele leven der Chinezen in Nederlandsch-Indië. *KS* 20/5-6: 78-96.

## KWEE TEK HOAY

- 1931 Onderwijs Hoakiau di Indonesia. *Madjalah Panorama* August-September.
- 1969 *The origins of the modern Chinese movement in Indonesia*. Translated and edited by Lea E. Williams from *Atsal moelahnja timboel perger-akan Tionghoa jang modern di Indonesia, Moestika romans 73-84 (1936-1939)*. Modern Indonesia Project translation series. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Southeast Asia Program.

## LABOV, William

- 1966 *The social stratification of English in New York City*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- 1970 The study of language in its social context. *Studium Generale* 23: 30-87; also in *Pride and Holmes*, eds 1972, 180-202.

- 1971 The notion of system in creole studies. In Hymes, ed. 1971, 447-472.
- 1972a On the mechanism of linguistic change. In Gumperz and Hymes, eds 1972, 512-538.
- 1972b *Sociolinguistic patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- LANG, Olga
- 1946 *Chinese family and society*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- LATER, J.F.H.
- 1915 De Maleische pers. IG 37:1264-1272.
- LAYCOCK, D.C.
- 1971 English and other Germanic languages. In Thomas Sebeok, ed. *Current trends in linguistics*, vol.8, pt.2, 877-902. The Hague: Mouton.
- LE PAGE, R.B.
- 1964 *Multilingualism in Malaya*. *Symposium on multilingualism*, 133-146. Scientific Council for Africa publication No.87. London: Committee for Technical Co-operation in Africa.
- 1968 Problems of description in multilingual communities. *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 189-212.
- LEE SIEW WAN
- 1983-84 Dialek Melayu Baba Melaka: tinjauan fonologi dan leksikal. B.A. (Hons.) thesis, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.
- LEE TOONG HIN
- 1955 *Hakka lessons for Malayan students (客话入门)*. Kuala Lumpur.
- LEKKERKERKER, C.
- 1938 *Land en volk van Java*. Groningen-Batavia: J.B. Wolters' Uitgevers-Maatschappij N.V.
- LEO, Philip
- 1975 *Chinese loanwords spoken by the inhabitants of the city of Jakarta*. Seri data dasar No.7. Jakarta: Lembaga Research Kebudayaan National LIPI.
- LI, Charles N. and Sandra A. THOMPSON
- 1979 Chinese: dialect variations and language reform. In Timothy Shopen, ed. *Languages and their status*, 295-335. Cambridge, Mass.: Winthrop Publishers, Inc.
- 1981 *Mandarin Chinese: a functional reference grammar*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- LIE KIM HOK
- 1884 *Malajoe-Batawi: kitab deri hal perkataan-perkataan Malajoe, hal memetjah oedjar-oedjar Malajoe dan hal pernahkan tanda-tanda batja dan hoeroef-hoeroef besar*. Batavia: W. Bruining & Co; 2nd edn. Batavia: Albrecht en Russche, 1891.

## LIE TEK TJENG

- 1970 *Masalah WNI dan masalah Huakiau.* Jakarta.

## LIEM THIAN JOE

- 1933 *Riwajat Semarang (dari djamannja Sam Poo sampe terhapoesnja Kongkoan).* Semarang: Ho Kim Yoe.
- 1939 *Tjerita-tjerita Tionghoa dalem bahasa ... Djawa. Sin po wekelijksche-editie* 16/832:5-7.

## LIEM TWAN DJIE

- 1947 *De distribueerende tusschenhandel der Chineezzen op Java.* The Hague: Nijhoff.

## LIEM YOE-SIOE

- 1980 *Die ethnische Minderheit der Überseechinesen im Entwicklungsprozess Indonesiens.* Saarbrücken: Verlag Breitenbach.

## LOEB, Edwin M.

- 1944 *Javanese word formation, high and low. Journal of the American Oriental Society* 64:113-126.

## LOMBARD, Denys

- 1972 *La grammaire malaise de Lie Kim Hok (1884). In Langues et techniques, nature et société: mélanges offerts à A. Haudricourt, tome 2, 197-203.* Paris: Klincksieck.

## LOMBARD-SALMON, Claudine

- 1972 *Société Peranakan et utopie: deux romans sino-malais (1934-1939). Archipel* 3:169-195.
- 1974 *Aux origines de la littérature sino-malaise: un sjair publicitaire de 1886. Archipel* 8:155-186.
- 1980 *La littérature en malais des Chinois d'Indonésie. In Chambert-Loir, ed. 1980, 13-21.*

## LUO CHANGPEI 罗常培

- 1956 *Xiamen yinxi 厦门音系.* Peking: Kexue chubanshe 科学出版社.

## MA HUAN

- 1970 *Ying-yai sheng-lan, "The overall survey of the ocean's shores" (1433). Translated and edited by J.V.G. Mills. Cambridge: Published for the Hakluyt Society at the University Press.*

## MACKIE, J.A.C.

- 1976 *Anti-Chinese outbreaks in Indonesia, 1959-68. In Mackie, ed. 1976, 77-138.*

## MACKIE, J.A.C., ed.

- 1976 *The Chinese in Indonesia.* Melbourne: Nelson.

## McNAMARA, John

- 1967 *The bilingual's linguistic performance. JSI* 23/2 (April):58-77.

## MARDJANA

- 1933 *Lajang isi kawroeh bab basa Djawa sawetara.* Groningen.

## MARTIN, Samuel I.

- 1964 Speech levels in Japan and Korea. In Hymes, ed. 1964, 407-415.

## MATHEWS, R.H.

- 1944 *A Chinese-English dictionary compiled for the China Inland Mission.*  
Revised American edition.

## MEILINK-ROELOFSZ, M.A.P.

- 1962 *Asian trade and European influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630.* Translated by M.B. Quast. The Hague: M. Nijhoff.

## MERCER, Bernard A.M.

- 1930 *Hakka-Chinese lessons.* London: Sheldon Press.

## MEURSINGE, A., ed.

- 1845 *Maleisch leesboek voor eerstbeginnenden en meergevorderden, 2.*  
Leiden: Luchtmans.

## MOERMAN, J.

- 1929 *In en om de Chineesche kamp.* Weltevreden: Landsdrukkerij.

## MURRAY, Douglas P.

- 1964 Chinese education in South-East Asia. *China Quarterly* 20:67-95.

## NAGELKERKE, Gerard A.

- 1975 *A selected bibliography of the Chinese in Indonesia, 1740-1974.*  
Leiden: Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology.
- 1982 *The Chinese in Indonesia: a bibliography, 18th century-1981.*  
Leiden, Netherlands: Library of the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology.

## NASH, Rose

- 1970 Spanglish: language contact in Puerto Rico. *American Speech* 45:  
223-233.

## NIEUWENHUIS, G.J.

- 1930 *Het Nederlandsch in Indië: een bronnenboek voor het onderwijs in de nieuwe richting.* 2e druk. Groningen: J.B. Wolters' Uitgevers-Maatschappij N.V.

## NIJLAND, J.C.C.

- 1891 Het Maleisch in de kazerne. Beschouwingen naar aanleiding van de handleiding "Het Maleisch in de kazerne" door M.C. v. Rouveroy van Nieuwaal. *IMT* 22/1:544-557.

## NIO JOE LAN

- 1932 De omgangstaal der Chinezen in Indonesië. *IG* 54/2:1089-1094.
- 1939 Het Chineesch-, Hollandsch- en Engelsch-Maleisch. *IG* 61/1:408-419.
- 1940 *Riwayat 40 tahun dari THHK-Batavia 1900-1939.* Batavia: Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan.

- 1950 Kebudajaan Tionghoa di Indonesia. In *Hari-ulang ke-50 Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan Djakarta, etc.*, 45-49.
- 1955 Kata-kata "gua" dan "lu" di Indonesia. *BB* 3/3:41-44.
- 1961 *Peradaban Tionghoa selajang pandang*. Jakarta: Keng Po.
- 1962 *Sastera Indonesia-Tionghoa*. Jakarta: Gunung Agung.
- 1963 Bahasa Melaju-Tionghoa. *BB* 9/5-6:201-215.

## NOTHOFER, Bernd

- 1975 *The reconstruction of Proto-Malayo-Javanic*. VKI 73. The Hague: M. Nijhoff.
- 1980 *Dialektgeographische Untersuchungen in West-Java und in westlichen Zentral-Java*, 2 vols. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- 1981 *Dialektatlas von Zentral-Java*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

## OEY HONG LEE

- 1975 The Indonesian Chinese under the New Order. *Cultures et développement* 7/1:95-122.

## ONG TAE HAE 王大海

- 1849 *The Chinaman abroad: a desultory account of the Malay Archipelago, particularly of Java*. Shanghai: Printed at the Mission Press; translation of *Haidao yizhi* 海島逸志, by W.H. Medhurst.

## ONGHOKHAM

- 1982 The Peranakan officers' families in nineteenth century Java. In *Papers of the Dutch-Indonesian Historical Conference held at Lage Vuursche, The Netherlands, 23-27 June 1980*, 278-291. Leiden/Jakarta: Bureau of Indonesian Studies.

## OVERBECK, Hans

- 1930 Pantoens in het Javaansch. *Djâwâ* 10:208-230.
- 1939 Javaansche meisjesspelen en kinderliedjes. Supplements to *Djâwâ* 19 [also published separately].

## PANE, Armijn

- 1935 Het Chineesch-Maleisch en het Indonesisch. *Sin po wekelijksche-editie* 13/661:25-26.

## PARKINSON, Sydney

- 1773 A vocabulary of the Malayan language, as spoke at Batavia, usually called there the Low Malay. A *journal of a voyage to the South Seas, in his Majesty's ship, the Endeavour*, 184-194. Faithfully transcribed from the papers of the late Sydney Parkinson, draughtsman to Joseph Banks, esq. on his late expedition, with Dr Solander, round the world. London: Printed for Stanfield Parkinson, the editor.

## PASOEROEAN

- 1918 *Encyclopedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 2e druk, vol.3, 354-359; vol.8, 281-283.

## PEMDA KAB. PASURUAN

- 197-        *The present day of Pasuruan/Kabupaten Pasuruan ini hari.*

## PENALOSA, Fernando

- 1972        Chicano multilingualism and multiglossia. Unpublished paper, California State College.

## PIEPERS, M.C.

- 1875        Over de Nederlandsche taal in Oost-Indië. *De gids*, 3e deel, 428-469.

## PIGEAUD, Theodore G. Th.

- 1938        *Javaanse volksvertoningen: bijdrage tot de beschrijving van land en volk.* Batavia: Volkslectuur.
- 1960-63    *Java in the fourteenth century.* 5 vols. KITLV translation series 4. The Hague: M. Nijhoff.
- 1968,       *Literature of Java.* 4 vols. The Hague: M. Nijhoff.  
1980
- 1982        *Javaans-Nederlands woordenboek.* 3e druk. The Hague: M. Nijhoff.

## PIJNAPPEL GZ., J.

- 1865        Laag-Maleisch. *De gids* 29/4:148-159.

## PIRES, Tomé

- 1944        *The Suma oriental, an account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan, written in Malacca and India in 1512-1515.* Translated from the Portuguese MS. in the Bibliothèque de la Chambre des Députés, Paris, and edited by Armando Cortesão. London: The Hakluyt Society.

## POEDJOSOEDARMO, Soepomo

- 1967        Indonesian influence on Javanese. M.A. thesis, Cornell University.
- 1968        Javanese speech levels. *Indonesia* 6:54-81.
- 1969        Wordlist of Javanese non-Ngoko vocabularies. *Indonesia* 7:165-190.
- 1980        Bahasa cermin budaya. *Basis* 30/1:13-19, 24.
- 1982        *Javanese influence on Indonesian.* PL, D-38.

## POENSEN, C.

- 1870        Aanhangsel, bevattende eenige javaansche woorden, op Oost-Java in gebruik. *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendeling-genootschap* 14:291-303.
- 1897        *Grammatica der Javaansche taal.* Leiden: E.J. Brill.

## POERWADARMINTA, W.J.S.

- 1953        *Sarining paramasastra Djawa.* Jakarta: Noordhoff-Kolff.

## POPLACK, Shana

- 1980        Sometimes I'll start a sentence in English y termino en Español: toward a typology of code-switching. *Linguistics* 18:581-618.

## PRAMOEDYA ANANTA TOER

- 1960 *Hoakiau di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Penerbit Bintang Press.
- 1963a Basa Indonesia sebagai basa revolusi Indonesia. *BT (Lentera)*, 22 September.
- 1963b Sastra assimilatif: sastra pra-Indonesia. *BT (Lentera)*, 24 November, 1 December.
- 1963c Basa pra-Indonesia dalam sastra assimilatif babak kedua. *BT (Lentera)* 1 December, 8 December, 15 December, 22 December.
- 1963-64 Basa pra-Indonesia dan fungsi historik dalam sastra assimilatif. *BT (Lentera)* 29 December, 5 January.
- 1982 *Tempo doeloe: antologi sastra pra-Indonesia*. Jakarta: Hasta Mitra.

## PRASETYO, J.T.

- 1980 *Petunjuk-petunjuk praktis untuk menyelesaikan masalah kewarganegaraan Anda*. Jakarta: Gramedia.

## PRICK VAN WELY, F.P.H.

- 1903 *De verindischung van ons Nederlandsch*. Lezing gehouden op 24 juli in de afdeeling Batavia van het Algemeen Nederlandsch Verbond.
- 1906 *Nederlands taal in 't verre Oosten, eene bijdrage tot de kennis en de historie van het Hollandsch in Indië*. Semarang: G.C.T. van Dorp & Co.
- 1977 *Cassell's English-Dutch/Dutch-English dictionary*. 7th edn. London: Cassell.

## PRIDE, J.B. and Janet HOLMES, eds

- 1972 *Sociolinguistics*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin.

## PRIJOHOETOMO, M.

- 1937 *Javaansche spraakkunst*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

## PROBLIM MINGGU INI: hasil Konkerda LPKB Djawa-Timur

- 1966 *Liberty* 31 December 1966.

## PROEFSTATION PASOEROEAN

- 1937 *Extra uitgave van het Soerabaiasch Handelsblad ter eere van het gouden jubileum*. Surabaya.

## PURCELL, Victor

- 1965 *The Chinese in Southeast Asia*. 2nd edn. London: Oxford University Press.

## PWA KHAIJ HIN

- 1950 Peladjaran huruf dan bahasa Tionghoa, disekolahkan T.H.H.K. In *Hari-ulang ke-50 Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan Djakarta, etc.*, 26-28. Jakarta: Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan.

## RACE rears its ugly head

- 1980 *Asiaweek* 12 December 1980.



## RAFFERTY, Ellen

- 1978 *Studies in the discourse of the Indonesian of the Chinese of Malang, East Java, Indonesia*. (Ph.D. thesis, State University of New York at Binghamton); published as *NUSA* 12 (1982).
- 1983 National language ability: a sociolinguistic survey in East Java, Indonesia. *JSEAS* 14/1:134-148.
- 1984 Languages of the Chinese of Java - an historical review. *JAS* 43/2: 247-272.

## RAFFLES, Thomas Stamford

- 1817 *The history of Java*. 2 vols. London: Black, Parbury, and Allen.

## REENEN, G.J. van

- 1981 *De Chinezen van Jakarta: beschrijving van een minderheidsgroep*. ICA publicatie No.48. Leiden: Institute of Cultural and Social Studies, Leiden University.

## RICKLEFS, M.C.

- 1981 *A history of modern Indonesia*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

## ROBINSON, W. Peter

- 1979 Speech markers and social class. In Scherer and Giles, 1979, 211-249.

## ROBISON, Richard

- 1978 Toward a class analysis of the Indonesian military bureaucratic state. *Indonesia* 25:17-39.

## RONKEL, Ph. S. van

- 1918 Maleisch. *Encyclopedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 2e druk, vol.2, 654-658.

## ROSS, Claudia

- 1983 On the functions of Mandarin de. *Journal of Chinese linguistics* 11:214-246.

## RUSH, James R.

- 1977 Opium farms in nineteenth century Java: institutional continuity and change in a colonial society, 1860-1910. Ph.D. thesis, Yale University.
- 1983 Social control and influence in nineteenth century Indonesia: opium farms and the Chinese of Java. *Indonesia* 35:53-64.

## RYAN, Edward J.

- 1961 The value system of a Chinese community in Java. Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University.

## S

- 1906 Waarom spreken wij Maleisch. *IMT* 37:822-829.

## SALIM, Ziad

- 1977 The growth of the Indonesian language: the trend towards Indo-saxonization. *IQ* 5/2:75-93.

## SALMON, Claudine

- 1980 La notion de sino-malais est-elle pertinente d'un point de vue linguistique? *Archipel* 20:177-186; translated as A note on the so-called Sino-Malay language, in Salmon 1981, 115-122; and as Apakah dari sudut linguistik istilah bahasa Melayu-Tionghoa dapat diterima?, in *Citra Masyarakat Indonesia*, 1983, 99-111. Jakarta: Sinar Harapan.
- 1981 *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia: a provisional annotated bibliography*. Etudes insulindiennes-Archipel, 3. Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme.
- 1983 Taoke or coolies? Chinese visions of the Chinese diaspora. *Archipel* 26:179-210.

## SALMON, Claudine and Denys LOMBARD

- 1974 Les traductions de romans chinois en malais (1880-1930). In P.-B. Lafont and D. Lombard, eds *Littératures contemporaines de l'Asie du sud-est, colloque du XXIXe Congrès International des Orientalistes*, 183-201. Paris: L'Asiathèque.
- 1980 *Les Chinois de Jakarta: temples et vie collective*. Etudes insulindiennes-Archipel, 1. Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme.

## SAMSURI

- 1958 Javanese phonology. M.A. thesis, Indiana University.
- 1961 Javanese phonemes and their distinctive features. *Medan ilmu pengetahuan* 2:309-321.

## SANDICK, L.W. van

- 1909 *Chineezzen buiten China: hunne beteekenis voor de ontwikkeling van Zuid-Oost-Azië, speciaal van Nederlandsch-Indië*. The Hague: Van der Beek.

## SANKOFF, Gillian

- 1972 Language use in multilingual societies: some alternative approaches. In Pride and Holmes, eds 1972, 33-51; also in Gillian Sankoff, ed. *The social life of language*, 29-46. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

## SCHERER, Klaus R. and Howard GILES

- 1979 *Social markers in speech*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme.

## SCHLEGEL, G.

- 1891 Chinese Malay and Javanese literature in Java. *TP* 2:148-151.

## SCHRIEKE, Bertram J.O.

- 1916 *Het boek van Bonang*. (Ph.D. thesis, Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden). Utrecht: P. den Boer.

## SCHUCHARDT, Hugo

- 1890 Kreolische Studien IX: Über das Malaioportugiesische von Batavia und Tugu. *Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 122/12:1-256.

SHELLABEAR, W.G.

- 1913      *Baba Malay: an introduction to the language of the Straits-born Chinese. Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 65:49-63.

SHU, Austin C.W. and William W.L. WAN

- 1968      *Twentieth century Chinese works on Southeast Asia; a bibliography. Annotated bibliography series No.3.* Honolulu: East-West Center.

SHUY, Roger W. and Ralph W. FASOLD, eds

- 1973      *Language attitudes: current trends and prospects.* Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

SIAUW GIOK TJHAN

- 1981      *Lima jaman: perwujudan integrasi wajar.* Jakarta: Yayasan Teratai.

SIAW, Laurence

- 1973      The origin, development and decline of the Peranakan culture in Java. *Akademika* 3:35-45.

SIDHARTA, Myra

- 1979      Wanita Peranakan Cina. In M.A.W. Brouwer, ed. *Kepribadian dan perubahannya.* Jakarta: Gramedia.

SISWOYO, Bambang

- 1981      *Huru hara Solo Semarang: suatu reportase.* B.P. Bhakti Pertiwi.

SKINNER, G. William

- 1958      The Chinese of Java. In Morton Fried, ed. *Colloquium on Overseas Chinese.* New York: Institute of Pacific Relations.
- 1960      Change and persistence in Chinese culture overseas: a comparison of Thailand and Java. *JSSS* 16/1&2:86-100; also in John T. McAllister, Jr., ed. *Southeast Asia: the politics of national integration*, 1973, 399-415. New York: Random House.
- 1961      Java's Chinese minority: continuity and change. *JAS* 20:353-362.
- 1963      The Chinese minority. In Ruth T. McVey, ed. *Indonesia*, 97-117. New Haven, Ct.: HRAF Press.

SLAMETMULJANA

- 1959      *Politik bahasa nasional.* Jakarta: Penerbit Djambatan.

SMITHIES, Michael

- 1982      The vocabulary of the elite: an examination of contemporary loan-words in Indonesia. *IQ* 10/2:105-113.

SOEBEKTI

- 1958      100 tahun perkembangan pers Indonesia didaerah Djawa Tengah. In *Kenangan sekilas perjuangannya sebagai: sedjarah pers sebangsa*, 171-208. Jakarta: Serikat Perusahaan Surat kabar S.P.S.

SOEJATMIKO, Basuki

- 1980      Peranan bahasa Melayu-Tionghoa - dulu, sekarang dan di masa mendatang. *Liberty* 8 November.

- 1981 Pengaruh dialek Melayu-Tionghoa terhadap perkembangan bahasa Indonesia. Paper presented at the Lembaga Indonesia-Amerika, Surabaya, 29 January.

SOEJATMIKO, Basuki, ed.

- 1982 *Etnis Tionghoa di awal kemerdekaan Indonesia: sorotan Bok Tok, pers Melayu-Tionghoa, Desember 1945-September 1946*. Surabaya: Majalah Mingguan Liberty.

SOENOTO, Faizah

- 1980 Tinjauan bahasa roman Indonesia sebelum perang. *Archipel* 20:161-175.

SOMERS, Mary F.

- 1964 *Peranakan Chinese politics in Indonesia*. Modern Indonesia project interim reports series. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Southeast Asia Program.
- 1965 *Peranakan Chinese politics in Indonesia*. Ph.D. thesis, Cornell University.
- 1974 *Southeast Asia's Chinese minorities*. Melbourne: Longman.

S

- 1982 *Statistik Kabupaten Pasuruan 1981*. Pasuruan: Kantor Statistik Kabupaten Pasuruan.

S

- 1982 *Statistik Kotamadya Pasuruan 1981*. Pasuruan: Kantor Statistik Kotamadya Pasuruan.

STEVENS, Alan M.

- 1973 Bahasa Indonesia: modernization and nationalization. *Asia* 30:70-84.

SUARA-SUARA kerukunan di tahun ke 36

- 1981 *Tempo* 15 August 1981.

SUKISMAN, W.D.

- 1975 *Masalah Cina di Indonesia*. 2nd edn. Jakarta: Yayasan Penelitian Masalah Asia.

SULISTIO, Ivon, et al.

- 1978 *Kedwibahasaan dan interferensi di kalangan masyarakat WNI keturunan Cina di kotamadya Semarang; dan interferensi bahasa Jawa dalam pemakaian bahasa Indonesia di kalangan masyarakat WNI keturunan Cina di kotamadya Semarang; dua laporan penelitian*. Semarang: Universitas Diponegoro, Fakultas Sastra Budaya.

SUMUKTI, Rukmantoro H.

- 1971 Javanese morphology and morphophonemics. Ph.D. thesis, Cornell University.

SUNG, Margaret M.Y.

- 1981 Chinese personal naming. *Journal of the Chinese Language Teachers Association* 16/2:67-90.

## SURYADINATA, Leo

- 1971 *The pre-World War II Peranakan Chinese press of Java: a preliminary survey.* Papers in international studies, Southeast Asia series No.18. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Center for International Studies, Southeast Asia Program.
- 1972 Indonesian Chinese education: past and present. *Indonesia* 14:49-72; also in Suryadinata 1978a, 1-32.
- 1976 Indonesian policies toward the Chinese minority under the New Order. *Asian Survey* 16/8:770-787.
- 1978a *The Chinese minority in Indonesia: seven papers.* Singapore: Chopmen Enterprises.
- 1978b *Pribumi Indonesians, the Chinese minority and China: a study of perceptions and policies.* Kuala Lumpur: Heinemann Educational Books (Asia) Ltd.
- 1978c The study of Indonesian Chinese: a review. In Suryadinata, 1978a, 142-168.
- 1981a The Chinese minority and Sino-Indonesian diplomatic normalization. *JSEAS* 12/1:197-206.
- 1981b *Eminent Indonesian Chinese: biographical sketches.* Rev. edn. Singapore: Gunung Agung.
- 1981c *Peranakan Chinese politics in Java, 1917-1942.* Rev. edn. Singapore: Singapore University Press.
- 1983 ASEAN and China: security, expediency, or both? *FEER* 2 June.
- 1984 The long, slow march to integration of the Chinese in Indonesia. *FEER* 22 March.

## SURYADINATA, Leo, ed.

- 1979 *Political thinking of the Indonesian Chinese, 1900-1977: a source-book.* Singapore: Singapore University Press.

## SUWARDI, Purwanto H.

- 1973 Golongan minoritas Cina di Kecamatan Kota Blora, suatu penelitian mengenai masalah akomodasi pada tahun 1972. Sarjana thesis, Universitas Gadjah Mada.

## TAN, Chee Beng

- 1979 Baba and nyonya: a study of the ethnic identity of the Chinese Peranakan in Malacca. Ph.D. thesis, Cornell University.
- 1980 Baba Malay dialect. *JMBRAS* 53/1:150-166.

## TAN, Giok-Lan

- 1963 *The Chinese of Sukabumi: a study in social and cultural accommodation.* Modern Indonesia Project monograph series. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Southeast Asia Program.

## TAN KIM SEN

- 1920 *Hikajat boycott Japan ....* Vol.1. Batavia: Boekh. Loa Moek En.

## TAN YEOK SEONG

- 1975 Chinese element in the Islamization of Southeast Asia: a study of the story of Njai Gede Pinatih, the Great Lady of Gresik. *JSSS* 30/1&2:19-27.

## TANNER, Nancy

- 1967 Speech and society among the Indonesian elite. *Anthropological Linguistics* 9/3:15-40.

## TAY, Mary W.J.

- 1969 Hokkien phonological structure. *Journal of Linguistics* 6:81-88.

## TAYLOR, D.M. and H. GILES

- 1979 At the crossroads of research into language and ethnic relations. In H. Giles and B. Saint-Jacques, eds *Language and ethnic relations*, 231-241. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

## TEEUW, A.

- 1959 The history of the Malay language: a preliminary survey. *BijdrTLV* 115/2:138-156.
- 1961 *A critical survey of studies on Malay and Bahasa Indonesia*. KITLV bibliographical series 5. The Hague: M. Nijhoff.

## THE SIAUW GIAP

- 1965 Religion and Overseas Chinese assimilation in Southeast Asia. *RSEA* 1965/2:67-84.
- 1966 Group conflict in a plural society. *RSEA* 1966/1:1-31.

## THORN, William

- 1815 *Memoir of the conquest of Java; with the subsequent operations of the British forces, in the Oriental archipelago. To which is subjoined a statistical and historical sketch of Java ... with an account of its dependencies*. London: T. Egerton.

## TJAMBOEK BERDOERI [pseudonym of Kwee Thiam Tjing (?)]

- 1947 *Indonesia dalem api dan bara*.

## TJAN TJOE SOM

- 1947-48 De culturele positie der Chinezen in Indonesië. *Indonesië* 1:53-61.

## TRUDGILL, Peter

- 1974 *The social differentiation of English in Norwich*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

## T'SOU, B.K.

- 1983 Distribution of varieties of Chinese in the greater Pacific area. Map 47 in Wurm and Hattori, eds 1983.

## TURNER, J.

- 1978 Towards a cognitive redefinition of the social group. Paper presented at the Colloquium on Social Identity at the European Laboratory of Social Psychology, at Université de Haute Bretagne, Rennes, France.

## TWANG PECK-YANG

- 1979 Political attitudes and allegiances in the Totok business community, 1950-1954. *Indonesia* 28:65-83.

## UCHIDA NAOSAKU

- 1956 Economic activities of the Chinese in Southeast Asia. *FEER* 8 November.

## UHLENBECK, E.M.

- 1964 *A critical survey of studies on the languages of Java and Madura*. KITLV bibliographical series 7. The Hague: M. Nijhoff.
- 1978a *Studies in Javanese morphology*. KITLV translation series 19. The Hague: M. Nijhoff.
- 1978b The Krama-Ngoko opposition: its place in the Javanese language system. In Uhlenbeck 1978a, 278-279; translation of *De tegenstellige Krama:Ngoko, haar positie in het Javaansche taalsysteem*. Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1950.
- 1978c Systematic features of Javanese personal names. In Uhlenbeck 1978a, 336-351; also in *Word* 25 (1969)/1-2-3:321-335.

## U

- 1984 Undangan Hanoi bagi Jenderal Benny. *Tempo* 25 February 1984.

## VERMEULEN, J.Th.

- 1938 *De Chineezten te Batavia en de troebelen van 1740*. Ph.D. thesis, Leyden.

## VLEMING, J.L.

- 1926 *Het Chineesche zakenleven in Nederlandsch-Indië*. Weltevreden: Volkslectuur.

## VÖMEL, Johann H.

- 1914 *Der Hakkadialekt: Lautlehre, Silbenlehre und Betonungslehre*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

## VOOYS, C.G.N. de

- 1949 *Nederlandse spraakkunst*. 2e herziene druk. Groningen: J.B. Wolters' Uitgeverijmaatschappij N.V.

## VRIES, J.W. de

- 1980 Het Indonesisch als nationale taal. *Forum der Letteren*, 102-113.

## WALBEEHM, A.H.J.G.

- 1897 *De taalsoorten in het Javaansch*. Batavia: Albrecht.

## WALLACE, Stephen

- 1976 Linguistic and social dimensions of phonological variation in Jakarta. Ph.D. thesis, Cornell University.
- 1977 Social correlates of some phonological differences in Jakarta Malay. *NUSA* 3:27-33.

## WATSON, C.W.

- 1971 Some preliminary remarks on the antecedents of modern Indonesian literature. *BijdrTLV* 127/4:417-433.
- 1980 La littérature indonésienne moderne avant 1920. In Chambert-Loir, ed. 1980, 23-27.
- 1982 A new introduction to modern Indonesian literature. *Indonesia Circle* 29:33-40.

## WEINREICH, Uriel

- 1968 *Languages in contact: findings and problems*. The Hague: Mouton.

## WELDON, Peter

- 1973 *Indonesian and Chinese status differences in urban Java*. University of Singapore Department of Sociology working paper No.7. Singapore: University of Singapore Department of Sociology; also in *JSEAS* 5 (1974)/1:37-54.

## WERTHEIM, W.F.

- 1949 *Het rassenprobleem: de ondergang van een mythe*. The Hague: Albani.
- 1964 Trading minorities in Southeast Asia. In W.F. Wertheim, ed. *East-West parallels*, 38-82. The Hague: Van Hoeve.

## WESSELS, C.

- 1926 *De geschiedenis der R.K. Missie in Amboina, vanaf haar stichting door den H. Franciscus Xaverius tot haar vernietiging door de O.I. Compagnie, 1546-1605*. Nijmegen and Utrecht: N.V. Dekker & van de Vegt and J.W. van Leeuwen.

## WHINNOM, Keith

- 1971 Linguistic hybridization and the "special case" of pidgins and creoles. In Hymes, ed. 1971, 91-116.

## WIGNJOSUMARSONO, F.S., compiler

- 1965 *Bagaimana ganti nama*. Jakarta: Jajasan Pembinaan Kesatuan Bangsa Pusat.

## WIJNGAARDS, N.

- 1951 Het Indonesisch en de invloed van het Nederlands. *LT* 102-109.

## WILLIAMS, Lea E.

- 1960 *Overseas Chinese nationalism: the genesis of the pan-Chinese movement in Indonesia, 1900-1916*. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press.

## WILLMOTT, Donald E.

- 1960 *The Chinese of Semarang: a changing minority community in Indonesia*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- 1961 *The national status of the Chinese in Indonesia, 1900-1958*. Rev. edn. Modern Indonesia Project monograph series. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Southeast Asia Program.

## WOLFF, John U.

- 1976 The functions of Indonesian in Central Java. In Nguyen Dang Liem, ed. *South-East Asian linguistic studies*, vol.2, 219-235. *PL*, C-42.



- 1982      Über die Gestaltung der indonesischen Mundart der Peranakan-Chinesen in Ostjava. In Rainer Carle et al., eds *Gava<sup>c</sup>: Studien zu austronesischen Sprachen und Kulturen, Hans Kähler gewidmet*, 451-461. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.
- 1983      The Indonesian spoken by the Peranakan Chinese of East Java: a case of language mixture. In F. Agard et al., eds *Essays in honor of Charles F. Hockett*, 590-601. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- WOLFF, John U. and Soepomo POEDJOSOEDARMO
- 1982      *Communicative codes in Central Java*. Cornell University Southeast Asia Program, linguistics series VIII, data paper No.116. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Southeast Asia Program.
- WURM, S.A. and Shirô HATTORI, eds
- 1983      *Language atlas of the Pacific area. Part 2: Japan area, Philippines and Formosa, mainland and insular South-East Asia*. PL, C-67.
- YALLOP, Colin
- 1981      The phonology of Javanese vowels. In Amran Halim, Lois Carrington and S.A. Wurm, eds *Papers from the Third International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*, vol.2: *Tracking the travellers*, 299-319. PL, C-75.
- YONG, C.F., ed.
- 1981      *Ethnic Chinese in Southeast Asia*. Special issue, *JSEAS* 12/1.
- YUAN JIAHUA 袁家骅
- 1960      *Hanyu fangyan gaiyao 汉语方言概要*. Peking: Wenzi gaige chubanshe 文字改革出版社.

## INDEX

- Albrecht, J.E. 162, 258  
 Alisjahbana, S. Takdir 127, 259  
 American English 4  
 Anderson, Benedict 58, 259  
 Arab perceptions of the Chinese 61  
 Assimilation 7, 34, 45, 64  
 Attitudes of non-Chinese towards East  
     Java Malay 143-144  
 Attitudes towards Hokkien and other  
     regional dialects 165  
 Attitudes towards the use of Dutch  
     194
- Baba, Baba Chinese 36-38, 64  
 Bakom - P.K.B. 64  
 Bannink, C.J.A. 160, 260  
 Baperki 30, 45, 63, 142  
 Barchewitz, Ernst Christoph 163  
 Barclay, Thomas 11, 260  
 Barth, F. 6, 260  
 Bastian, Adolf 160  
 Batavia 37  
 Batavia Malay 3  
 Bauman, R. 4, 260  
 Bell, Roger T. 71, 260  
 Blagden, C.O. 120, 260  
 Blancquaert, E. 84, 261  
 Blom, Jan-Petter 4-5, 261  
 Blora 12  
 Boachi, Aquasie 200, 261  
 Bokmål 4  
 Bolinger, Dwight 70, 261  
 Boxer, C.R. 186, 261  
 Brandes, J. 158, 261  
 Brenner, Suzanne 66, 261  
 Breton 5  
 British interregnum 16  
 Brown, Penelope 97, 261  
 Brown, Roger W. 97, 261  
 Brugmans, I.J. 187, 261  
 Budiman, Amen 37  
 Buleleng, Bali 100
- Cantonese 47, 71  
 Cator, W. 12, 26, 62, 262
- Census, 1920 3, 105  
 Central Java 2  
 Chao, Y.R. 173, 262  
 Cheng, Chin-chuan 82, 262  
 China 43-44, passim  
 Chinese attitude towards Jakarta  
     Indonesian 145  
 Chinese attitude towards Javanese 105  
 Chinese dialects 6, 10, 71-72, 75, 80  
 Chinese identity 29-35, 203  
 Chinese language 38  
 Chinese names (Hokkien) 166-167  
 Chinese numerals (Hokkien) 172  
 Chinese of Indonesia 2ff passim  
     in 1980s 3  
     language 3ff  
     nationality 43-44  
     studies on 2-3, 6  
 Chinese of Jakarta 2  
 Chinese people 1, 5-9, 12-13, 27-28,  
     37ff passim  
 Chinese People's Republic 35, 43-44,  
     46, 60  
 Chinese perceptions of Arabs 57  
 Chinese perceptions of Javanese 54-  
     57  
 Chinese perceptions of Madurese 57  
 Chinese publications 3  
 Chinese religion 39, 51, 64  
 Choice between informal neutral East  
     Java Malay and Javanese by upper  
     class Peranakan 134  
 Christianity 39, 42, 51, 65  
 Cirebon 100  
 Citizenship 43, 65  
 Clark, Hugh R. 162, 262  
 Class identity 1, 4, 6, 40-41, 161,  
     205  
 Classification 93  
 Codes 9, 71, 73, 156-157  
 Code-switching 6, 71, 75, 177  
 Collins, James T. 95, 159, 262-263  
 Contacts with non-Chinese 53-54  
 Conversations 209-257  
 Cook, Captain James 201

- Cook-Gumperz, Jenny 5, 267  
 Coppel, Charles A. 2-3, 12, 105, 162, 263  
 Cornell University 10  
 Coup attempt, 1965 17  
 Cultivation System 16, 41, 65  
 Cultural aspect of Chinese 2
- DeCamp, David 71, 263  
 Dennys, N.B. 64  
 Dijk, Cees van 65, 263  
 Directions for future research 207  
 Divorce 50  
 Dreyfuss, Gail Raimi 3, 93, 264  
 Dutch 6, 9, 11, 38, 42, 49, 71-72, 75, 186  
 Dutch as medium of education 187-189  
 Dutch forms as identity markers 194  
 Dutch people 15-16, 37  
 Dutch to end 18th century 186
- East Java 1-3, 15  
 East Java Indonesian 203  
 East Java Malay 72, 128-144, 203  
 Education 2, 44  
 Education in Hokkien 161  
 Education policy 174  
 Edwards, E.D. 120, 264  
 Eijkman, L.P.H. 84, 264  
 Elson, Robert 15-16, 264  
 Encyclopaedie van Nederlands-Indie 13, 16, 274  
 English 5, 9-10, passim  
 English nowadays 199  
 Errington, Joseph 188, 264  
 Ethnic identity 1  
 Ethnicity, old and new 5-6
- Fagan, Joel 12  
 Fishman, Joshua A. 4, 265  
 "Foreign" codes 199  
 Formal polite East Java Malay 130  
 Francken, J.J.C. 11, 265  
 Friedrich, Paul 97, 265  
 Fromberg, P.H. 12, 265  
 Fujian 36, 161, 163  
 Function of Dutch 186  
 Function of English 198  
 Function of Hokkien and other Chinese dialects 161  
 Function of Javanese among the Chinese 98-99  
 Function of Malay/Indonesian among the Chinese 120
- Function of Mandarin 172-173  
 Funerals 50  
 Fuqing, see Hokchia  
 Fuzhou, see Hokchiu
- Geertz, Clifford 8, 58, 265-266  
 Geertz, Hildred 8, 266  
 Giles, Howard 4-5, 266, 278  
 Gilman, A. 97, 261  
 Glazer, Nathan 5, 266  
 Go Gien Tjwan 2-3, 266  
 Graaf, Nicolas de 186  
 Great Depression 16, 41  
 Gresik-Jaratan 98  
 Grijs, de 11  
 Groeneveldt, W.P. 36, 121, 161, 266  
 Groot, J.J.M. de 12, 266  
 Group identity 7  
 Guangdong 162  
 Guangzhou 161  
 Gumperz, John J. 4-6, 70-71, 73, 266-267
- Haan, F. de 37, 186-187, 267  
 Hakka 11, 47, 71-72, passim  
 Halim, Amran 176, 267  
 Han Tik-ko 16  
 Han Tjan-pit 16  
 Hartono, Chris 188, 267  
 Hashimoto, Mantaro J. 79, 267  
 Haugen, Einar 75, 267  
 Hechter, Michael 6, 268  
 Hendrati, Pauline R. 12, 268  
 Hidajat, Z.M. 176-177, 268  
 Hinghwa 71  
 Hinloopen Labberton, D. van 93-94, 268  
 Hispanics in the U.S. 5  
 Historical development 206ff  
 Hoetink, B. 12, 268  
 Hoffman, John 160, 268  
 Hokchia 71  
 Hokchiu 71  
 Hokkien 9-11, 47, 71ff  
 Hokkien forms as identity markers 166  
 Hokkien in theatre in the past 163  
 Houtman, Cornelis de 186  
 Hudson, R.A. 70, 268  
 Hymes, Dell 4, 268-269
- Identity markers 5, 96  
   Chinese dialects 161  
   Dutch 161  
   English 161  
   Javanese 96

- Malay/Indonesian 96-98, 146, 161  
 Mandarin 180, 203-204  
 Ikranagara, Kay 94, 269  
 Independence 42, 44  
 Indigenous Indonesians 3, 48, 50  
 Indonesian 3, 6, 9-10, 69, 71-72,  
 130 and see Malay/Indonesian  
 Indonesian as medium of instruction  
 140  
 Indonesian Chinese, see Chinese of  
 Indonesia 2  
 Indonesianisms 147  
 Indonesian language policy towards  
 Chinese 174-176  
 Indonesian languages 10  
 Indonesian: the question of assim-  
 lation 141-142  
 Informal East Java Indonesian 130  
 Informal-formal alternation patterns  
 131  
 Informal neutral Peranakan East Java  
 Malay 128  
 Informal neutral Totok East Java  
 Malay 128  
 Informal polite East Java Malay 129  
 Informants 8  
 Interference 78, 88  
     Javanese 88  
     Chinese dialects 89  
 Interviewing 9  
 Islam 36-37, 51-52, 61  
  
 Jakarta 2, 56, 175  
 Japanese 42, 44  
 Japanese occupation 16-17  
 Java 16  
 Javanese 3, 6-9, 12, 67, 71-72, 78,  
 80, 96, 98-99, 157-159, 177, 203  
 Javanese adopted as a local language  
 98  
 Javanese and Malay/Indonesian affixes  
 85  
 Javanese as a code 102  
 Javanese forms as identity markers  
 113  
 Javanese forms vis-a-vis politeness  
 and formality 114-116  
 Javanese in Chinese interactions  
 with Javanese 109-112  
 Javanese language levels 101  
 Javanese levels used by Chinese 103-  
 104  
 Javanese literature, role of Chinese  
 in 99-100  
  
 Javanese mainly a spoken language 102  
 Javanese morphophonology 86-87  
 Javanese names 118-119  
 Javanese perceptions of Chinese 58-60  
 Javanese registers 68  
 Javanese spoken in Chinese homes 101-  
 102  
 Javanisms 113  
 Jones, Gavin 188, 269  
 Jyow Sen 38  
  
 Kartasura 15  
 Kartomihardjo, Soeseno 3, 8, 69, 83,  
 93-94, 269  
 Kats, J. 94, 269  
 Kemasang 65  
 Kinship terms:  
     Dutch 195  
     Hokkien 168-170  
     Javanese 117  
     Malay/Indonesian 149  
     Mandarin 184  
 Kjahi Goeroe 115, 270  
 Ko Ho Sing 100  
 Koentjaraningrat, R.M. 59, 270  
 Koesrin 94  
 Kromo level 13, 72, 203  
 Kruisinga, E. 84, 270  
 Kumar, Ann 15, 270  
 Kun lun 120  
 Kwee, John B. 2, 270  
 Kwee Kek Beng 12, 102, 270  
 Kwee Tek Hoay 65, 270  
  
 Labov, William 4, 6, 70, 270-271  
 Lekkerkerker, C. 161, 271  
 Leo, Philip 201, 271  
 Levinson, Stephen 97, 261  
 Lexical items:  
     Chinese dialects 91  
     Dutch 91-92  
     Javanese 90-91  
     Malay/Indonesian 90-91  
 Lexicon 90  
 Language and identity 4-5, 7, 113,  
 161ff  
 Language attitudes 1, 4, 7, 143-144,  
 165, 194  
 Language behaviour 1  
 Language borrowing 9  
 Language change 7  
 Language contact 5  
 Language use 1, 4-5  
 Li Denghui 198

- Lie Kim Hok 3, 65, 125, 160, 271  
 Lie Tek Tjeng 12, 272  
 Liem Kie Djwan 42  
 Liem Thian Joe 42, 100, 272  
 Liem Twan Djie 12, 62, 272  
 Liem Yoe Sioe 12, 62, 272  
 Linguistic community 70  
 Linguistic data 11  
 Linguistic diversity 71  
 Linguistic repertoire 72, 92, 203  
 Logan, John R. 160  
 Lombard, Denys 203, 160, 272  
 Lombard-Salmon, see Salmon  
 L.P.K.B. 63  
 Luo Changpei 77, 272
- Ma Huan 121, 272  
 Macartney, Lord 186  
 Mackie, J.A.C. 12, 62, 65, 201, 272  
 Madium 15  
 Madurese 69  
 Madurese perceptions of Chinese 71  
 Madyo level 72, 203  
 Maintenance of Mandarin 182  
 Malacca 120  
 Malang 23-24, 49  
 Malay 3, 6-7, 9, 12, 71-72, 186,  
     and see Malay/Indonesian  
 Malay/Indonesian 67, 71-72, 78, 80,  
     96, 157-159, 177, 203, passim  
 Malay/Indonesian as a code 132  
 Malay/Indonesian continuum 127-128  
 Malay/Indonesian forms as identity  
     markers 146  
 Malay and the transition to Indo-  
     nesian 126  
 Malay as a lingua franca 120  
 Malay as the colonial language of  
     administration 121-124  
 Malayisms 146  
 Mandarin 6, 8-11, 49, 71-72, 171-  
     177  
 Mandarin as a symbol of Chinese  
     identity 183  
 Mandarin forms as identity markers  
     183  
 Maps 14, 18-19, 68  
 Mardjana 93  
 Marriage 50, 54  
 Mataram 15  
 Mathews, R.H. 11, 273  
 Medan 175  
 Meilink-Roelofs, M.A.P. 120, 273  
 Methodology 7-11, 73  
 Min dialects 47
- Moerman, J. 2, 273  
 Morphological variations 155  
 Morphology 83  
     Dutch 87  
     Javanese 83, 85-86  
     Malay/Indonesian 83, 85-86  
 Morphophonological variations 156  
 Morphophonology 83  
 Multilingualism 6, passim  
 Moynihan, Daniel P. 5, 266  
 Murray, Douglas P. 173-174, 273
- Nagazumi, Akira 158  
 Nagelkerke, Gerard A. 11-12, 62, 273  
 Names, pronunciation 183-184  
 Names, Dutch 195  
 Nationality 43-44  
 New Order 3, 44-45  
 Ngadirejo, Parakan 100  
 Ngoko level 72, 203  
 Nieuwenhuis, G.J. 186-188, 273  
 Nio Joe Lan 2-3, 12, 162, 273-274  
 Njoo Tik Hap 100  
 Norwegian 4  
 Numerals, Dutch 198  
 Numerals, Mandarin 185
- Oetomo's background 10  
 Oka, Djoehana 3, 93, 264  
 Ong Tae Hae 37, 62, 274  
 Onghokham 16, 37, 41, 52, 65, 274  
 Overbeck, Hans 94, 274
- Pane, Armijn 3, 127, 274  
 Parkinson, Sydney 201, 274  
 Pasuruan 1, 6-10, 13, passim  
     Chinese 27-35, 37-38, 41, passim  
     Chinese attitudes 35-36  
     Chinese community life 45-46, 48  
     Chinese cultural life 49-53, 67  
     Chinese, diversity of 36-37  
     Chinese economic life 46-48  
     Chinese, linguistic repertoire 69  
     Chinese political life 45-46  
     Chinese relations with non-Chinese  
         52-53  
     Chinese social life 48-49  
     cultural life 25-27  
     economic life 20-22  
     history 13-17  
     linguistic situation 67  
     map 19  
     political life 20  
     population 17  
     social life 22-25

- Peranakan, Peranakan Chinese 2-3, 8,  
 10, 12, 36, 38-44, 46-51, 54-55, 61,  
 71-72, 75, 99-100, 156, 183, 187-  
 189, 199-200, 203  
 Peranakan-Totok relations 41-42  
 Peranakan and Totok identity 204  
 Peranakan linguistic repertoire 204  
 Phoa Keng Hek 173  
 Phonemes, see phonology, phonemics  
 Phonological, morphological and  
 morphophonological variations 154  
 Phonological variations:  
   nasals 155  
   voiced stops 154  
   voiceless stops 154  
 Phonological variations in the lin-  
 guistic repertoire 154  
 Phonology, phonemics:  
   Chinese Dutch 83  
   Chinese Hakka 78  
   Chinese Hokkien 76  
   Chinese Javanese 73, 75, 80  
   Chinese Mandarin 80-81  
   Dutch 84, 195  
   Hakka 78-79  
   Hokkien 76-77  
   Javanese 74  
   Malay/Indonesian 74  
   Mandarin 80, 82  
 Pigafetta, Antonio 120  
 Pigeaud, Theodore 13, 99-100, 158,  
 275  
 Poedjosoedarmo, Soepomo 3, 74, 93,  
 275  
 Poensen, C. 93-94, 275  
 Poerwadarminta, W.J.S. 93, 275  
 Politeness and formality 96-98  
 Portuguese 186-187  
 Portuguese as lingua franca 186  
 Pramoedya Ananta Toer 3, 12, 62, 66,  
 160, 162, 276  
 Prasetyo, J.T. 65, 276  
 Predominance of Hokkien-speaking  
 immigrants 161  
 Prick van Wely, F.P.H. 187, 276  
 Pronouns, pronominals:  
   Dutch 196  
   Hokkien 170  
   Javanese 116  
   Malay/Indonesian 148  
   Mandarin 184  
 Purcell, Victor 36, 62, 98-99, 161-  
 162, 276  
 Pwa Khaij Hin 173, 276  
 Quanzhou 161-162  
 Rafferty, Ellen 3, 93-94, 115, 141,  
 158, 277  
 Raffles, T.S. 16, 277  
 Reenen, G.J. van 2, 12, 277  
 Reformed education in Mandarin 172-  
 173  
 Regional-national alternation patterns  
 131  
 Registers 71-72, passim  
 Religion 51-52  
 Research in own community 10  
 Re-Sinification 42  
 Ricklefs, M.C. 15, 277  
 Rise of Malay as language of literacy  
 and politeness among the Chinese  
 124-125  
 Robinson, W. Peter 6, 277  
 Robison, Richard 46, 277  
 Rush, James R. 42, 65, 277  
 Ryan, Edward J. 1, 3, 277  
  
 Salim, Ziad 202, 277  
 Salmon, Claudine 2-3, 93, 158, 160,  
 162-163, 187, 201, 278  
 Sample 7-9  
 Samsuri 94, 278  
 Sandick, L.W. van 12, 278  
 Scherer, Klaus R. 5, 278  
 Schlegel, G. 100, 278  
 Schouten, Wouter 162, 200  
 Schrieke, Bertram J.O. 120, 158, 278  
 Schuchardt, Hugo 121, 186-187, 278  
 Semarang 2, 12  
 Shellabear, W.G. 99, 279  
 Sherzer, Joel 4, 260  
 Shifts:  
   between the codes 149  
   to East Java Malay in quoting 153  
   to Indonesian 153  
   to Javanese 149  
   to Javanese in being cynical 150  
   to Javanese in joking 150  
   to Javanese in quoting 149  
   to Javanese in speaking with oneself  
   151  
   to Javanese to show anger 151  
   to and within East Java Malay 152  
 Shu, Austin 63, 279  
 Siauw Giok Tjhan 42, 65, 201, 279  
 Singapore 5  
 Singkeq 36-38  
 Sino-Malay literature 2-3

- Siswoyo, Bambang 65, 279  
 Skinner, G. William 12, 37-38, 62, 99, 159, 279  
 Slametmulyana 188, 279  
 Smithies, Michael 202, 279  
 Sociolinguistics 1, 4, 7, 67, passim  
 Soejatmiko, Basuki 160, 279-280  
 Solo 56  
 Somers, Mary 12, 62, 280  
 Spanish 5  
 Speech levels 72  
 Speech markers 5  
 Stevens, Alan M. 159, 280  
 Sugar production 15-16, 21, 41, passim  
 Suharto, President 44, 64  
 Sukisman, W.D. 12, 280  
 Sulistio, Ivon 12, 280  
 Sumukti, R.H. 93-94, 280  
 Sundanese 3  
 Surabaya 23-24, 49, 55  
 Surapati 15, 62  
 Suryadinata, Leo 2, 11, 43, 62, 65, 160, 162, 173-175, 187-188, 201, 281  
 Suwardi, Purwanto H. 12, 281  
 Syntactic interference 88-89  
 Syntactic structure of Dutch forms 89-90  
 Syntax 88  
 Syntax of Chinese dialects 90  
  
 Taiwan 35  
 Tan Chee-beng 64, 281  
 Tan Kim Sen 42, 281  
 Tan Khoen Swie 102  
 Tan, Mely G. 2-3  
 Tan Tjin Gwan 100  
 Tan Tjin Kie 100  
 Teochiu 47  
 Terms for Chinese things, concepts and institutions 171  
 Terms for certain things:  
   Dutch 197  
   Mandarin 185  
 Terms of address:  
   Dutch 196  
   Hokkien 170-171  
   Javanese 116  
   Malay/Indonesian 148  
   Mandarin 184  
 Texts 209-257  
 The Siauw Giap 65, 282  
 Thorn, Major William 163, 200, 282  
 Tio Ie Soei 3, 99, 160, 187  
  
 Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan 42, 172-173, 198  
 Tirta Adhisoerjo, R.M. 145  
 Tjoa Tjoe Koan 100  
 Tones 95  
 Totok, Totok Chinese 3-4, 8, 12, 36-44, 46-51, 54-55, 61, 64, 71, 75, 156, 183, 200, 203, passim  
 Totok linguistic repertoire 204  
 Transitions 205  
 Trudgill, Peter 6, 282  
 Tuban 98  
 Turner, J. 6, 282  
  
 Uchida Naosaku 47, 283  
 Use of Dutch as a code 189  
 Use of East Java Malay peculiar to Chinese 143  
 Use of formal polite East Java Malay and Indonesian in public 139-140  
 Use of Hokkien and other regional dialects 163  
 Use of Hokkien by immigrants 163-165  
 Use of Hokkien by immigrants' children 163-165  
 Use of informal neutral East Java Malay among Totok 134-135  
   among upper-class Peranakan 132  
   between Peranakan and Totok 133  
 Use of Javanese among Chinese 106-109  
 Use of Malay/Indonesian in inter-actions with non-Chinese 138  
 Use of Mandarin 177  
 Use of Mandarin in public 181  
 Use of polite East Java Malay, informal and formal 135-137  
 Use of spoken Dutch 189-193  
 Use of spoken Mandarin 177-180  
 Use of written Dutch 193  
 Use of written Mandarin 181  
  
 Vaughan, J.D. 64  
 Vermeulen, J.T. 12, 283  
 Vietnamese Chinese 35, 49  
 Vleming, J.L. 12, 283  
 Vries, J.W. de 120, 283  
  
 Wallace, Stephen 94, 283  
 Wan, William 63, 279  
 Weitzel, A.W.P. 163  
 Weldon, Peter 3, 105, 284  
 Welsh 5  
 Wertheim, W.F. 12, 284  
 West Java 2  
 Western education 40  
 Williams, Lea E. 12, 65, 173, 187-188, 284

Willmott, Donald E. 2-3, 12, 105,  
284

Wolff, John U. 3, 74, 93, 284

Written Malay/Indonesian 145

Xinghua, see Hinghwa

Yogyakarta 42, 100

Yuan Jiahua 77, 79, 162

Zhangzhou 161-162

Zheng He 121